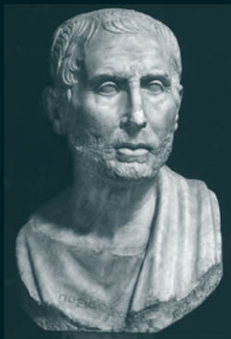


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HISTORIOGRAPHY AT THE END OF THE REPUBLIC

PROVINCIAL PERSPECTIVES ON ROMAN RULE



Liv Mariah Yarrow

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Historiography at the End of the Republic

Provincial Perspectives on Roman Rule

LIV MARIAH YARROW

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For my mother
os suum aperuit sapientiae,
et lex clementiae in lingua eius.

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Contents

<i>Note on Texts and Translations</i>	x
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xii
Introduction: Setting the Scene	1
1. The Power of the Intellectual: Leading Thinkers, Thinking Leaders	18
2. Theory and Method	78
3. Constructing the Narrative: Authorial Objectives and the Use of Rome	123
4. From the Outside Looking in: Roman Culture and Domestic Politics	167
5. The Romans Abroad: Force, Diplomacy, and the Management of Empire	231
6. Enemies of Rome? The Symbolic Alternatives	283
Conclusion	342
<i>Appendix: Issues of Dating</i>	351
<i>Bibliography</i>	358
<i>Index Locorum</i>	377
<i>General Index</i>	393

Note on Texts and Translations

Unless otherwise indicated, or with the following exceptions, translations are my own.

Posidonius. Translations are taken from I. G. Kidd, *Posidonius: iii. The Translation of the Fragments*. Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). These are based on the edition of the text to be found in L. Edelstein and I. G. Kidd (eds.), *Posidonius: i. The Fragments*. Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

Diodorus Siculus. Translations come from *Diodorus Siculus*, 12 volumes, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933–67); this also supplies a reliable arrangement of the Greek text. The most used volumes are by the following translators: vols. 11 and 12, covering books 21 to 40, are by F. R. Walton, and vol. 1, covering books 1–2.34, by C. H. Oldfather.

Pompeius Trogus. Translations follow J. C. Yardley (trans.) and R. Develin (intro. and notes), *Justin: Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994). The standard Latin text is that of O. Seel (ed.), *M. Juniani Justinii Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi: Accedunt Prologi in Pompeium Trogum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1972).

Nicolaus of Damascus. There is no complete standard translation. If no other indication is given, the translation is my own, except for his *Life of Caesar Augustus* which has been published twice in English: C. M. Hall, *Nicolaus of Damascus, Life of Augustus: A Historical Commentary Embodying a Translation* (Northampton: Smith College, 1923) and J. Bellemore, *Nicolaus of Damascus, Life of Augustus: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1984). Hall's translation is here preferred. The Greek text is published by F. Jacoby (ed.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (15 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1923–30; Leiden: Brill, 1940–58), no. 90.

Memnon of Heraclea. The translation is my own from the Greek text published by F. Jacoby (ed.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, no. 434.

1 Maccabees. The translation utilized is the Revised Standard Version.

Cicero. *The Letters* have been edited and translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, first in the Cambridge Classical Text Series and now in the Loeb Classical Library. However, unless otherwise noted the translation used here is by E. Shuckburgh.

Abbreviations

1 Macc.	1 Maccabees
2 Macc.	2 Maccabees
A&A	<i>Antike und Abendland</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AJPhil	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1970–)
Ant. Class.	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i>
ASNP	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe Di Lettere e Filosofia</i>
BAGB	<i>Bulletin de l'Association G. Budé</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
Bowersock, AGW	G. W. Bowersock, <i>Augustus and the Greek World</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965)
Broughton, MRR	T. R. S. Broughton, <i>The Magistrates of the Roman Republic</i> (New York: American Philological Association, Scholars Press, 1951–60)
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
Cl. Ant.	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
C. Phil.	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR Acad. Inscr.	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
CW	<i>Classical World</i>
Deut.	Deuteronomy
Diod.	Diodorus
E-K	L. Edelstein and I. G. Kidd (eds.), <i>Posidonius</i> , i. <i>The Fragments</i> , Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972)
Exod.	Exodus
G&R	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>

<i>Harv. Stud.</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>ILLRP</i>	A. Degraasi (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae ei Rei Republicae</i> , 2 vols., 2nd edn., Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1965–)
<i>Jac.</i>	F. Jacoby (ed.), <i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> (15 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1923–30; Leiden: Brill, 1940–58)
<i>Janke, Comm.</i>	M. Janke, <i>Historische Untersuchungen zu Memnon von Herakleia</i> (Diss. Würzburg, 1963)
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JÖAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>Kidd, Comm.</i>	I. G. Kidd, <i>Posidonius, The Commentary, i. Testimonia and Fragments 1–149, ii. Fragments 150–293</i> , Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)
<i>Kidd, Trans.</i>	I. G. Kidd, <i>Posidonius: The Translation of the Fragments</i> , Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
<i>MDAI (R)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung</i>
<i>Nic.</i>	Nicolaus of Damascus
<i>Num. Chron.</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>PCPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>Peter HRRel.</i>	H. Peter, <i>Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae</i> , i. (2nd edn. 1914), ii. (1906) (Leipzig: Teubner)
<i>Philosophia Togata I</i>	M. Griffin and J. Barnes (eds.), <i>Philosophia Togata I: Essays on Philosophy and Roman Society</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1997)
<i>Pos.</i>	Posidonius
<i>Rawson, IL</i>	E. Rawson, <i>Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic</i> (London: Duckworth, 1985)

RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1842–66; Stuttgart and Munich: J. B. Metzler and Alfred Druckenmüller, 1903–78)
<i>Rev. Et. Anc.</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
RFIC	<i>Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica</i>
<i>Rh. Mus.</i>	<i>Rheinischs Museum für Philologie</i>
RPC	A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and P. P. Ripollès (eds.), <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> (London: British Museum Press, 1992)
RRC	M. Crawford, <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974)
RSA	<i>Rivista storica dell'antichità</i>
SB	Shackleton Bailey's numbering system for Cicero's letters
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>Sstor</i>	<i>Storia della Storiografia</i>
<i>Syll.</i> ³	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd edn. (Leipzig: S. Hirzelium, 1915–24)
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
Trog. <i>Praef.</i>	Pompeius Trogus, <i>Histories</i> , Justin's Preface
Trog. <i>Prol.</i>	Pompeius Trogus, <i>Histories</i> , anonymous Prologues
Walbank, <i>HCP</i>	F. W. Walbank, <i>A Historical Commentary on Polybius</i> , (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957–79)
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Introduction: Setting the Scene

When Polybius, that first great historian of the Roman empire, mapped out his plan for documenting Rome's conquest of the whole of the known world, he was not satisfied to close his work with the establishment of her dominion. On the overthrow of the regal household of Macedonia in 168 BC, he says, 'it seemed everyone was agreed and obliged henceforth to listen to the Romans and obey their orders' (3.4.3). Yet he goes on to explain that conquest cannot be regarded as the end of the action, and that the subsequent policy of the conquerors, the opinions of the subjects, and the tendencies of individuals in private and public life must all be considered. He even claims that it will be in the analysis of these very things that the chief usefulness of his work will be found, for both contemporaries and future generations. The former will be able to judge whether Roman rule is acceptable, and the latter will be able to learn whether the form of Roman governance deserves praise or blame. For the benefit of his readers he carries his discussion down to 146 BC, into what he calls a 'disturbed and troubled time'. By choosing to end on such a dark and unresolved note, he left the door open for further commentaries with the same theme.

In this sense, the historians Shere under scrutiny are, consciously or unconsciously, post-Polybian in their choice of subject matter and thematic approach. Although several of the historians in question wrote on diverse matters, even within their histories, their common element is a treatment of contemporary history from 146 BC onwards. Moreover, they all address the role of Rome in the wider Mediterranean. However, it is not only their narratives, but also their own biographical details which testify to the conditions of

those of the non-Roman elite who had recently been dispossessed of any semblance of local political autonomy. Each has been selected for inclusion because of his status as an outsider to the Roman ruling class, but also as a personal observer of Roman domination. There are six authors who satisfy all these criteria and whose texts survive in sufficient quantity to allow for fruitful analysis.

From the Levant and ancient Syria we have testimonies from three very different intellectuals. The earliest of these, the author of 1 Maccabees, constructs an image of local events using a biblical framework and marginalizes the importance of Rome (c.130 BC). Just over a century later Nicolaus of Damascus, a sycophantic peripatetic from the court of Herod the Great, merges local traditions, Hellenistic perspectives and praise of Roman hegemony in what was perhaps the longest universal history composed in antiquity (144 books in total). Although the eminent stoic philosopher Posidonius (mid-first century BC) is more closely associated with his residency on Rhodes and his Roman friendships, he too identified Syria, specifically Apamea, as his homeland; the little that remains of his diverse publications demonstrates a holistic interest in the geography, ethnography, and history not just of the east, but of the entire Mediterranean and surrounding regions.

Rome's western provinces also produced independent intellectuals who formulated statements on contemporary events. Modern scholarship has often doubted the originality of the Sicilian Diodorus' extensive historical writings (c.60–30 BC), but none can deny the numerous and powerful political opinions imbedded therein. The Latin universal history of Pompeius Trogus is solid evidence of the flourishing scholarly community of southern Gaul in the age of Augustus which had its antecedents in both Roman and Hellenistic traditions. At the other end of the empire, on the south shore of the Black Sea, perhaps at a similar time or just before, Memnon was writing his local history of Heraclea Pontica into which Roman expansion abruptly intrudes.

These texts and their authors, when situated into their correct historical context, are more than historiographical novelties. They illuminate the political posturing and ambitions of the provincial elite in an age when Rome had established military hegemony, but had not yet solidified its policies for provincial administration.

These authors, and their intellectual contemporaries, were a powerful subsection of the local elite who had lost their political autonomy with the rise of Roman hegemony. The surviving texts not only encapsulate their reactions to this potentially volatile situation, but also in themselves are radical political acts. These histories, like numerous other documents now lost, were intended to define the emerging relationships between ruler and subjects, to change attitudes among both Romans and non-Romans, and to redirect political energies towards mutually beneficial alliances between members of the social elite. These expectations and realities were made possible by the remarkable role of intellectual culture in breaking down political and ethnic barriers to create an ideal of a unified, Mediterranean-wide, elite class, which defined itself not through topography, but instead by a common esteem of scholarly learning. So as to understand this dynamic interaction between political and intellectual behaviour, we need to revisit certain key historical developments which shaped the Hellenistic world and the rise of Roman hegemony.

At the point at which Polybius' narrative closes, with the aftermath of the destruction of Carthage and Corinth in 146 BC, Roman domination of the Mediterranean basin was based primarily on military superiority.¹ Over the next 150 years there is a shift towards well-defined administrative control through a system of provinces and client kingdoms. The death of Augustus in AD 14 marks the consolidation of the new constitutional form with the first successful transfer of imperial power from one *Princeps* to the next. The period between these two dates was punctuated by political change at Rome, the rise and disintegration of various eastern monarchies, and Roman expansion. These conflicts shaped the development of Roman rule. The process of change was not driven by the concerns and ambitions of members of the Roman ruling class alone, but was also propelled forward by the actions of the provincial elites.² These

¹ For the symbolic potency of the sacking of Carthage and Corinth, see N. Purcell, 'On the Sacking of Carthage and Corinth' in D. Innes, H. Hine, and C. Pelling (eds.), *Ethics and Rhetoric* (1995), 133–48, and U. Hackl, 'Poseidonios und das Jahr 146 v.Chr. als Epochendatum in der antiken Historiographie', *Gymnasium* 87 (1980), 151–66. The date is considered an important turning point not only in Hellenistic historiography, but also in the Roman tradition: Sempronius Asellio's history began at this date and Velleius Paterculus used it as the dividing line between the two halves of his work.

² P. A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (1990), 267–81.

individuals attempted to preserve as much as possible of the traditional base of their power. They utilized a variety of methods for doing so, many borrowing from their relationships with other Mediterranean powers, both the successors of Alexander and dominant city-states. One such method was the exploitation of the culture of intellectualism, primarily in its Hellenistic guise.

Intellectual activity was potentially the property of all members of the social elite, whatever their political position. As has long been observed, historians in the ancient world were often men who could no longer participate in the political process.³ Scholarly activity gave those who were removed from power a vehicle through which to voice their perspective to those closer to the centre of political deliberation. Similarly it allowed the new rulers to interact with the subjugated peoples through a common cultural system, which promoted integration and peaceful relations. Confirmation of these two ideas is found in Cicero's letters. Under great political strain he retreats into historical composition, comforted by the permanence of the written record compared to the shifting power dynamics in Rome. Early in 59 Cicero left Rome in frustration and wrote to Atticus:

Here, right here in Antium is the place in which to play the statesman; in Rome, not only am I not allowed to do so, but I am sick of it besides. Accordingly, I will compose a book of secret memoirs for your ear alone in the style of Theopompus, or a more acrid one still. Nor have I now any politics except to hate the disloyal, and even that without any bitterness, but rather with a certain enjoyment in writing. (*Att.* 26.2 SB = 2.6.2, Apr. 59)⁴

In the previous letter, written just days before, he had mused, 'what will history say of me a thousand years hence? I am far more in awe of that than of the tittle-tattle of my contemporaries' (*Att.* 25.1 SB = 2.5.1, Apr. 59). When he feels ostracized and impotent in the changing political climate of Rome, notably the collusion between Caesar and Pompey, as well as Clodius' growing popularity, his natural inclination is to retreat towards intellectual pursuits, but the character

³ A. Momigliano, 'The Historians of the Classical World and their Audiences: Some Suggestions', *ASNP* 7 (1978), 59–75 (= Momigliano, *Sesto contributo*, 361–76).

⁴ Similar sentiments can be found in the following letters to Atticus as well: 25.2 SB = 2.5.2, 28.1 SB = 2.8.1, 33.2 SB = 2.13.2, 36.3 SB = 2.16.3, 84.1 SB = 4.10.1, 92.2 SB = 4.18.2, 318.1 SB = 13.10.1. I have slightly modified Shuckburgh's translation for a more literal rendering.

of his scholarly work is still essentially political. This helps us interpret correctly those surviving histories written by other individuals who have lost other avenues of political expression. However, Cicero also demonstrates his concern over provincial perceptions and the role of historical texts in shaping these perceptions:

Posidonius, in his letter of acknowledgement from Rhodes, says that as he read my memoir [on my consulship], which I had sent him with a view to his writing on the same subject with more elaboration, he was not only not incited to write, but also absolutely made afraid to do so. In a word, I have routed the Greeks. Accordingly, as a general rule, those who were pressing me for material to work up have now ceased to bother me. Pray, if you like the book, see to there being copies at Athens and other Greek towns, for it may possibly throw some lustre on my actions. (*Att.* 21.2 SB = 2.1.2, c.3 June 60 = Pos. T34 E–K = T9 Jac.)

Although it is easy to dismiss such a passage as yet another example of Cicero's inability to believe others could hold him in lower esteem than that in which he held himself, its significance runs deeper. The letter demonstrates Cicero's desire to have his actions in a matter of internal Roman politics spread throughout the Greek world, and preferably to be glorified in the words of an eminent statesman and philosopher. By seeking out Posidonius' approval and praise, Cicero also communicates his belief that the Greeks could and should take a direct interest in matters related to Rome's internal conflicts. Thus, in the middle of the Late Republic we have solid evidence of the link between historical documentation and political action: Cicero demonstrates that history writing is both a means of expressing political views for the politically disenfranchized and a vehicle for communication between Romans and provincials.

This use of intellectual culture within the political sphere is not a new trend, but part of a large pattern which can be traced back to the beginning of the Hellenistic period. To contextualize accurately the politicized nature of cultural interaction in the Late Republic, reference must be made to the preceding era of Alexander's successors. Here, already we can see the leading political figures and cities utilizing cultural and intellectual affiliation to formulate their identities and reinforce their authority.⁵ Cultural and intellectual status

⁵ G. Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander 323–30 BC* (2000), 235–70.

proved to be powerful tools for binding together new kingdoms and protecting the status of individual cities.

Alexander's eastern campaigns had expanded the horizons of the Greek world and established new centres of power at a significant distance from the traditional heart of Greek society. Those who were successful amongst his successors, the Diadochi and their heirs—the Ptolemies in Egypt, Seleucids in Syria, and Antigonids in Macedonia—based their claims to power first and foremost on military might. Such strength of arms remained a necessity for preserving and extending their kingdoms against external threats and internal rivalry, but was insufficient for establishing a peaceful and economically profitable reign.

One of the ways in which they attempted to establish legitimacy was to make a twofold claim. The first part of this claim, being Alexander's heir, is demonstrated by the iconography of each king, but the second, being a benevolent patron of the Greek way of life, was more difficult and demanded varied and subtle responses. The difficulties arose because before Alexander Greeks were more often to be found fighting amongst themselves rather than unified against a common enemy, the Persian Wars being the exception rather than the rule. Moreover, the individual Greek cities had based their communal identity on their foundation legends and religious cults which emphasized that they were separate and distinct from their neighbours. The new Hellenistic monarchs had no such antiquity for claims of autochthony or divine sanction, although the latter was soon to develop. Their territories were vast, incorporating cities of the traditional Greek world and those on the fringes, new to the Hellenic way of life.

To unify these areas and build support for themselves among the disparate populations, the Hellenistic monarchs reached out towards those aspects of Greek culture which were not specific to a particular city, but 'universal' in value.⁶ The kings established festivals, patronized gymnasia, and made ostentatious offerings at religious sanctuaries. Yet at the root of Hellenism is a common language, and it is as

⁶ In this way they were also building on the idea of 'panhellenism', see S. Perlman, 'Panhellenism, the Polis and Imperialism', *Historia* 25 (1976), 1–30, and P. Athanassindi-Fowden, 'The Idea of Hellenism', *Philosophia* 7 (1977), 323–38.

patrons of the linguistic arts that we are most interested in the Diadochi. As Diodorus asserted, 'history also contributes to the power of speech, and a nobler thing than that may not easily be found. For it is this that makes the Greeks superior to the barbarians, and the educated to the uneducated' (1.2.5–6).

Not surprisingly, the Hellenistic courts became great centres of learning, and the foundations of the famous libraries were laid.⁷ This placed intellectuals at the heart of the political workings of the kingdoms and gave them a regal audience for their products. At the end of our period, it is this position in which we find Nicolaus, writing histories to please Herod the Great, but also serving as chief adviser on key domestic issues such as the succession, and even being sent on embassies to Rome at times of particular tension between the desires of Augustus and Herod's policies.

Not only kings, but also individual cities sought to utilize cultural (and intellectual) prestige to bolster their political profile. The local communities which had lost so much of their independence with the rise of the Hellenistic monarchs were also attempting to recoup some of their authority and status. Although *poleis* used any number of other political and military strategies to cope with the new power dynamics, most cities to some degree engaged in a glorification of their Hellenic culture as a means of self-promotion and positive interaction with other communities and kings.⁸ Pergamum developed its tradition of monumental architecture and sculpture, and

⁷ A. Erskine, 'Culture and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Museum and Library of Alexandria', *G&R* 42.1 (1995), 38–48, argues for 'Greekness' as a source of authority which was exploited by the Diadochi living amongst locals dispossessed of power. The situation was even more critical for the Ptolemies living among the culturally and historically rich Egyptians. Moreover, the lack of common city of origin demanded the use of more general elements of common culture. Intellectual pursuits were linguistically 'Greek'; literature from other cultures was only incorporated once translated. It can also be seen as part of the plan to emulate Alexander, who travelled with an entourage of intellectuals and encouraged the cities which he founded or refounded to establish Greek institutions. More generally on the Hellenistic libraries, see L. Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World* (2001), 31–60. Of particular interest is the royal library of the Antigonids from Pella, which Aemilius Paulus took to Rome and gave to his sons (Plut. *Aem.* 28.6), and to which Polybius thus had access (31.23.4).

⁸ T. Engberg-Pedersen, 'The Relationship between Intellectual and Political Centres in the Hellenistic World' in P. Bilde *et al.* (eds.), *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World* (1993), 285–315.

established its library.⁹ Athens cultivated its identity as the birthplace of philosophy. Rhodes attracted orators and their pupils from around the Mediterranean.¹⁰

Even when such cities, the primary centres of learning in the Hellenistic world, came under Roman control they still preserved their intellectual autonomy. The fame and status of these locations was not negated by their being subsumed into the empire. Instead, Romans joined the population of visiting students and admirers. The famous locations of Alexandria, Athens, and Pergamum drew students from the whole of the Mediterranean, and had developed a symbolic status in themselves, a status intrinsically linked to their intellectual and cultural heritage. This may best be illustrated by Athens. Having spent time there in his youth, Cicero continues to use the city a cultural point of reference. Consider how Cicero instructs Atticus to send copies of the book on his consulship to Athens, as well as other Greek cities, in the letter of June 60 BC, quoted above. A decade later, he presents the following idea to Atticus: 'I hear Appius is building a propylaeum at Eleusis. Should I be foolishly vain if I also built one at the Academy? "I think so" you will say. Well, then, write and tell me that that is your opinion. For myself, I am deeply attached to Athens itself. I would like some memorial of myself to exist. I loathe sham inscriptions on statues really representing other people.'¹¹ From the perspective of a historian, Trogus says, 'as for literature, the art of speaking and the whole civilization which we possess today—Athens is their shrine' (2.6.6). The status of such locations helped to validate the importance of the intellectual to the wider community by providing the resources to

⁹ G. Nagy, 'The Library of Pergamon as a Classical Model' in H. Koester (ed.), *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods* (1998), 185–232. For comparison of other cities developing their libraries, see L. Robert, 'La Bibliothèque de Nysa de Carie', *Hellenica* 1 (1940), 144–8.

¹⁰ Consider Diod. 31.36 which describes how the Rhodians had the Hellenistic kings vying for their honours through extravagant gifts.

¹¹ Cic. *Att.* 21.2 SB = 2.1.2, c.3 June 60; and Cic. *Att.* 115.26 SB = 6.1.26, 20 Feb. 50. Cic. *Att.* 121.2 SB = 6.6.2, c.3 Aug. 50, revisits this topic in response to Atticus' reply. Cicero says that nothing in his 'On the Republic' is contradicted because the benevolence is directed towards foreigners not citizens. He is anxious to begin work but Atticus advises him to 'think about it'. His hurry is in part driven by Appius' having already begun his gate for Eleusis.

further their pursuits and by attracting pupils to further the dissemination of ideas.

Not surprisingly this trend among both civic bodies and political dynasts toward self-promotion through cultural patronage, particularly of Hellenic culture and intellectualism, impressed and influenced those people and powers living beyond the traditional bounds of the Hellenistic world, spreading both east and west. Here, we see marginal communities using intellectual achievement and assumed cultural affiliations to engage in political dialogues with the central powers of the Mediterranean. The historians of the age reported on this phenomenon in positive, if at times patronizing, tones. The highest praise offered by Diodorus to far-flung kings is their acceptance of Greek learning. As background for the Roman war against Jugurtha, Diodorus says of the previous king: 'Micipsa was the most civilized of all the Numidian kings, and lived much in the company of cultivated Greeks whom he had summoned to his court. He took a great interest in culture, especially philosophy, and waxed old both in the exercise of power and in the pursuit of wisdom' (34/5.35). His eulogy of Ariarathes, the father of Mithridates Eupator, king of Cappadocia, is in a very similar vein (31.19.8), highlighting his personal devotion to philosophy and revealing how his kingdom thus became a place of sojourn for Greeks of learning, although it had previously been all but unknown to the Hellenic world. These two kings adopted those attributes of Hellenism which were both universal and associated with other successful powers, such as the Attalids or Ptolemies. Their intellectual identity facilitated interaction with other states and raised their status in the eyes of both contemporaries and the historical record.

However, concessions to this 'international' language of intellectualism and Hellenism were not always made willingly; it is clear that such cultural vocabulary became a diplomatic and political necessity. If we consider 1 Maccabees, even though it tells of a violent reaction against Hellenic culture in Judaea, the very survival of the text in Greek belies the success of that particular aspect of the revolt.¹² We

¹² Schürer, *History*, i. 143–5 and *passim*, discusses the Hellenization of cities in Palestine in the wake of Alexander as well as some references to the earlier periods; he details how this Greek landscape surrounded the small kingdom of Judaea and could

might also consider the Greek names of the ambassadors sent out by Judas, one of whom, Eupolemus, according to 2 Maccabees, was a Hellenizing historian. In subsequent generations the process of acculturation in Judaea can be clearly seen from the authors known to have been present in the library of King Herod and through Nicolaus' own writings.¹³

The case of Judea, and particularly the persistence of Hellenism throughout the Maccabean revolt, provides a useful model when looking at the development of Roman interest in and reservations about Hellenic intellectual culture. Rome too can be considered as one of these peripheral cultures which at first showed a certain resistance to the Hellenic intellectual tradition, but through time developed its own significant variations on the literary and artistic genres of the Greeks.¹⁴ The history of Roman assimilation and transformation of the traditional scholarly traditions of Hellenic culture provides the foundation for understanding how this 'intellectual culture' became a powerful force in the political machinations between subject and subjugator after Rome's military conquest of the Mediterranean.

Intellectualism was flourishing in Rome before the legions ever crossed the Adriatic in the second half of the third century BC. In the aftermath of the First Punic War, Hellenic, or 'Hellenized', intellectuals were transmitting variations of Greek drama to the Roman public in Latin at state-sponsored festivals.¹⁵ Following the Second Punic War, the state even sanctioned the establishment of a guild for

not help but be a cultural force in the Maccabean period. For evidence of Hellenization within the heart of Judaism see i. 145 n. 18 detailing the evidence of J. Freudental, *Alexander Polyhistor* (1875), 127–9. On Eupolemus, see Schürer, *History*, iii.33.3.2. The most detailed work on this topic is M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (1974), esp. 486 and 564. For the Maccabean uprising as a unique example of an Eastern religion resisting by force the influence of Hellenism, see S. K. Eddy, *The King is Dead* (1961), 213–56.

¹³ B. Z. Wacholder, 'Appendix: Greek Authors in Herod's Library', in his *Nicolaus of Damascus* (1962), 81–6.

¹⁴ A. Henrichs, 'Graecia Capta: Roman Views of Greek Culture' *Harv. Stud.* 97 (1995), 243–61.

¹⁵ 240 BC, at the end of the First Punic War, is the accepted date for the first Roman drama by Livius Andronicus, an enfranchised Greek. For discussion of this event in its wider literary and political context see E. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (1990), 79–123.

playwrights and actors within the sacred precinct of the temple of Minerva on the Aventine, an obvious echo of the Dionysiac *technitai* of the Greek world.¹⁶ The change of patron deity granted respectability to the profession by association with a traditional Roman goddess, and removed any taint of the suspicion which often surrounded foreign cults in Rome, especially those with mysteries or ecstatic elements.¹⁷

Although the transformation of drama, as a literary and performance art, from a Hellenistic and foreign phenomenon to one at home at Rome and in Latin appears to have been relatively smooth, certain elements, such as the construction of permanent purpose-built structures, which were perceived as too 'luxurious' remained contentious. The year 154 BC saw the destruction of the first stone theatre, which was then half-built, having been contracted out that year by the censors; the reported impetus for the destruction was P. Scipio Nasica's public denouncement of the city's succumbing to Hellenic pleasures.¹⁸ This view held strong until, and even after, Pompey's construction of his massive theatre, whose theatrical purpose he minimized by referring to the seating as the monumental steps to the temple of Venus Victrix, which he incorporated into the design.¹⁹ In drama, this balance between the acceptance of intellectualism and resistance to foreign culture seems for the most part to have stabilized through a compromise position of reinvention and redefinition in Latin terms.²⁰ The other literary genres, like drama, came to be accepted into Roman intellectual practices. Without this earlier period of integration and adaptation, it would not have been

¹⁶ Festus, 446, L, with discussion by E. J. Jory, 'Associations of Actors in Rome', *Hermes* 98 (1970), 224–53, and N. Horsfall, 'The Collegium Poetarum', *BICS* 23 (1976), 79–95, esp. 80–1. The relationship between this third-century guild and that of the poets in the late second and early first centuries (Val. Max. 3.7.11) cannot be established with any confidence.

¹⁷ A senatorial decree of 213 BC forbade foreign observances (Livy 25.1.6–12). One also calls to mind the Bacchanalian Affair of 186 BC (Livy 39.8–19 and *CIL* I.2.581 = *ILLRP* 511).

¹⁸ App. *B Civ.* 1.28, Livy *Per.* 48, Val. Max. 2.4.2, Vell. Pat. 1.15.3.

¹⁹ See the article by Gros in Steinby, *Lexicon* (V.36) on the theatre for both discussion and references.

²⁰ It is perhaps not surprising that drama provides some of the earliest examples of the interaction of Greek and Latin culture given the popularity of dramatic images (and presumably productions) throughout Southern Italy, especially in the fourth

possible for the provincial intellectuals of the Late Republic and Augustan age to find such politically fertile audiences.

Perhaps more than drama, although not unrelated, the development of history writing at Rome was integral for the linking of literary expression to contemporary political activity. At the end of the Hannibalic War we find a striking cultural landmark: the first Roman known to have written history did so in Greek, at a time when there seem to have been other non-Greeks composing histories of their own regions in Greek.²¹ The choice of language may simply reflect conventions of genre, but also raises the possibility of a non-Roman audience. The growing awareness of this potential audience cannot be unconnected to the influx of Hellenic art into the city of Rome, first from Sicily and then from the other side of the Adriatic.²²

The further development of Latin literature is seen in the diverse surviving fragments of Cato's prose, and in this context we should underline his role as the father of Latin historical prose narrative. This particular individual, often held up by moderns and ancients alike as the bastion of traditional Roman values against the tide of Hellenic culture, shows the complete integration of learning into the life of the respectable Roman citizen. Although usually presented in contrast with Cato and his minimalistic and 'rustic' belief system, the Scipionic circle is only another dimension of Rome's acceptance and development of the Hellenistic culture of intellectualism.²³ The

and third centuries BC. See R. Green and E. Handley, *Images of the Greek Theatre* (1995), particularly chap. 8 on 'The Traditions of the Western Theatre', and the following images: nos. 10, 19–25, 27–31, 42–43, 46, 49–53. For an in-depth discussion of the theatre in relation to socio-political history, see P. T. Wiseman, *Roman Drama and Roman History* (1998). Of particular interest on the connection between drama and history is P. T. Wiseman, 'The Origins of Roman Historiography' in his *Historiography and Imagination* (1994), 1–22.

²¹ In the first quarter of the third century, Berossus of Babylon and Manetho of Sebennytus in Egypt were also both writing. J. Dillery, 'Quintus Fabius Pictor and Greco-Roman Historiography at Rome' in J. E. Miller, C. Damon, and K. S. Myers (eds.), *Vertis in Usus* (2002), 1–23, examines whether this grouping is productive when considering ancient historiography.

²² For an ancient observation of the great fashion for Greek arts and studies in Southern Italy and Latium and even Rome before the coming of civil strife, see Cic. *Arch.* 5. Similarly, at §23 he extols the value of Greek over Latin as the lingua franca of the world.

²³ A. E. Astin, 'Scipio Aemilianus and Cato Censorius', *Latomus* 15 (1956), 159–80, and G. Calboli, 'Zur Hellenisierung Roms: Cato und Terenz', *Wiener Studien* 106

milieu of scholars recorded as having interacted within the household of the Scipios includes such major Greek figures as Panaetius and Polybius, but also significant Latin writers like Terence, as well as the senior statesmen of Rome.

So, when I describe the key authors of this discussion—Nicolaus, Memnon, Diodorus, Trogus, Posidonius, and the author of 1 Maccabees—as post-Polybian, I mean to suggest that they are writing in an age when the Roman political elite are accustomed to interacting with non-Romans, provincials, and other foreigners on an intellectual level, and that such intellectual interaction already carries an expectation of political content and context. The significance of the surviving texts rests in their documentary proof of such interactions, which potentially allows us to trace the historical impact of provincial intellectuals on the formation of the Roman empire.

Another anecdote from Rome's intellectual history, perhaps less familiar than those already alluded to, will illustrate the grace with which foreign politics and intellectual exchange mixed at Rome during the height of eastern expansion. Suetonius credits Crates of Mallos as introducing the study of grammar to the Romans.²⁴ He had been sent to the Senate as an ambassador by Attalus 'between the Second and Third Punic Wars'. Apparently he did not intend to teach at Rome, but having broken his leg (by falling into an open sewer on the Palatine!), of necessity remained there. During his convalescence, he attracted an intellectual circle who became inspired to apply his method of critique to the works of their own countrymen. Thus Rome's closest political ally among the eastern kingdoms provided the tradition from which Roman grammar emerged.²⁵ The process of intellectual influence and interaction between Rome and her allies runs parallel to the growth of Roman military hegemony.

(1993), 69–83. On the Scipionic circle, see: J. E. G. Zetzel, 'Cicero and the Scipionic Circle', *Harv. Stud.* 76 (1972), 173–9; F. W. Walbank, 'Political Morality and the Friends of Scipio', *JRS* 55 (1965), 1–16; and H. Strasburger, 'Der "Scipionenkreis"', *Hermes* 94 (1966), 60–72.

²⁴ *De Grammaticis* 2. For discussion, see J. Blänsdorf, 'Cratès et les débuts de la philologie romaine' in J. Dangel (ed.), *Grammaire et rhétorique: notion de Romanité* (1994), 5–11.

²⁵ Compare the discussion of the Pergamene influence on Roman art offered by A. Kluttner, 'Republican Rome Looks at Pergamon', *Harv. Stud.* 97 (1995), 157–80.

How, then, do we explain the political significance of the concurrent pattern in Rome of general wariness and public denunciations of, specifically, Hellenic intellectualism? Given the overwhelming weight of the evidence for a positive reception of Greek culture in Rome and the fruition of Rome's own intellectual and literary traditions by the Late Republic and Principate, the following episodes of resistance should be seen within the context of the attempt by Rome's elite to formulate intellectualism on their own terms, preserving its international character, but removing any implication of Greek predominance.²⁶ The most often mentioned event is the expulsion of orators and philosophers from the city. This happened only once en masse, in 161 BC, by a *senatus consultum* proposed by the praetor, M. Pomponius.²⁷ There is no clear record of this novel event or satisfactory hypothesis regarding the motivation behind it. It seems unlikely that it was rigidly enforced, especially for individuals of high status who freely associated with the elite of Rome. The best we can do is to set it in the context of similar events to gain clarity on the overall trend. The only other expulsion is equally lacking in details regarding its cause, but was on a much reduced scale. Those driven out were two specific Epicureans, Alcaeus and Philiscus, probably in 154 BC; the stated reason was for 'introducing unnatural pleasures to the young'.²⁸ Some would like to put in the same category Cato's warnings of the possible ill-effects on the mores of Roman youth from the public lectures of Carneades when he came as an ambassador for Athens, but this anecdote recalls only Cato's personal, moral motivation to hasten the official business of the embassy, and not any actual removal of the philosophers from Rome—just the opposite, in fact, for the state acted to bring the petition of Carneades and his fellow philosophic ambassadors to a timely resolution.²⁹ What is interesting is the nature of Cato's concerns: he worried that admiration for the style of speaking would lead youth to value technique over truth, or oratory over military action.

²⁶ See E. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (1990), chap. 5, 'Philosophy, Rhetoric, and Roman Anxieties'.

²⁷ Suet. *Rhet.* 1.2; Gellius 15.11.1.

²⁸ The consuls named in the sources could indicate either 154 BC or 173 BC; Athen. 12.547a, Aelian *VH* 9.12, *Suda* s.v. 'Επικούρος.

²⁹ Plut. *Vit. Cat. Mai.* 22; Plin. *NH* 7.112.

This is not far from the fears supposedly addressed by the expulsion of the Epicureans.

Other radical acts by the state against intellectual activity include the burning of 'newly discovered' writings on pontifical law and Greek philosophy attributed to the Roman king and lawgiver, Numa, in 181 BC;³⁰ and the condemnation (but not closure) of Latin rhetorical schools by both censors of 92 BC.³¹ These last two acts seem to be only gestures, the first against reinterpretation of the traditional state religion, the second against an already established institution. Like all the preceding incidents the legal actions are unlikely to have been intended actually to change behaviour. Instead, they reiterate societal values and thus the interpretation of intellectual activity and its correct societal position. In this way such legislation can be understood along similar lines to the contemporary trend towards sumptuary laws which showed regular and consistent denouncement of luxury goods and consumables from, or associated with, the East, and thereby differentiated between conquerors and subjects, on cultural as well as political grounds.³² The point is made sufficiently clear by noting the Roman insistence until well into the Late Republic that foreign petitioners before the Senate address the house in Latin or through Latin translators, thus effectively stopping their political ears to the eloquence of Greek oratory.³³

There is no inherent contradiction between Rome's apparently peripheral relationship to the cultural and intellectual arts of the Hellenistic world and the centrality which Rome achieved through her military and political dominance in the Mediterranean basin. Non-Greek kings often portrayed themselves as philhellenes and yet still as dominant over Greek cities. The difference lies in Rome's ultimate success and the sheer scale of her dominance. Instead of cultivating intellectual achievements to win prestige in the Hellenistic world, Rome enjoyed the process by which the Hellenistic world strove to incorporate Rome into its own cultural conception, thus

³⁰ Livy 40.29.2–14; Pliny *NH* 13.84–8; Val. Max. 1.1.12.

³¹ Suet. *Rhet.* 1.1; Gellius 15.11.2; Tac. *Dial.* 35.

³² For conceptual discussion, see E. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (1990), 170–3. In the ancient sources, see Gellius 2.24.2–6, Macrobi. *Sat.* 3.13.3, 3.16.14–15, 3.17.4–5, Athen. 6.274c, Pliny *NH* 10.139.

³³ Gellius 6.14.9; Plut. *Vit. Cat. Mai.* 22.4.

easing the transition from subjugation to incorporation. For a simple illustration one can consider the efforts made by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his *Roman Antiquities* to prove that the Romans were themselves Greeks.

It is possible to reconstruct one of the key ways in which the elite of the provinces participated in the formation of the Roman Empire by charting the political nature of the lives of intellectuals, and their interpretation of contemporary events. Although six contemporary historians take centre stage in the textual analysis, they are complemented by testimony on a host of other intellectuals working in this period, as well as by the parallel narratives of other historians. The lives of the six historians (referred to throughout as the 'core' authors) span the geographical and chronological spread of the empire of the Late Republic. Their texts, although fragmentary in their survival, narrate the major events of the period. Both Posidonius and Nicolaus have Syrian origins. The author of 1 Maccabees presumably lived and worked in Judaea, and Nicolaus made his home there for the greater part of his professional life. Pompeius Trogus traced his origins to the area around Massilia (modern Marseilles), while Diodorus originated in the small community of Agyrium in Sicily. It is assumed that Memnon resided in the community of Heraclea Pontica, for which he composed a local history. Dating of the authors is more controversial, but 1 Maccabees was probably written in the late second century; Posidonius flourished in the early to middle first century; Diodorus composed in the age of Julius Caesar; and Nicolaus and Trogus lived in the age of Augustus, as Memnon may also have done. The testimony on Nicolaus and Posidonius, when compared with their contemporaries, provides solid evidence on the political influence of certain intellectuals. All the authors interpret the rise of Rome for their peers among Romans and non-Romans alike. They use individuals and events to exemplify collective morality and pragmatic means of governance, allowing Roman rule to be the unquestioned context within which particular situations may be more or less acceptable. This process of interpretation and reception transforms the writing of history into a politically significant action, that might be termed a 'speech-act'.

In a recent article, John Ma has exhorted ancient historians to embrace speech-act theory.³⁴ Roughly put, this theory holds that when certain individuals make particular statements in appropriate contexts, these statements are actions which change the world in which they are uttered. The classic example is the effect of the phrase, 'I now pronounce you man and wife,' when spoken by a priest in a church before a bride and groom and congregation. The effect of the phrase is contingent on the acceptance of the priest's authority by those present and the wider community. Ma demonstrates the value of this theory when applied to documents from the ancient world, taking as his example the letters and royal proclamations surviving from the Maccabean revolt. He stresses that one of the values of speech-act theory is a redirection of focus away from the truth of statements to their 'felicitousness' —that is, their effectiveness. However, the validity of his own case rests on the authenticity of the surviving documents as transmitted by the ancient historians, primarily Josephus, and the authors of 2 Maccabees, and 1 Maccabees. While I would not question this underlying premise, it is also possible to study both the documents and their textual context using a similar approach, but without worrying about the veracity of the transmission. Ma encourages us to ask how the documents changed the world into which they were issued. I echo this exhortation, but urge us also to consider how the selection and transmission of these documents within historical texts may have altered the course of events. We shall see that in the Late Republic and the age of Augustus the elite and intellectual culture of the wider Mediterranean provided an appropriate context for politically powerful intellectual statements, and that the provincial elite took advantage of these circumstances to influence the form of the emerging Roman empire.

³⁴ J. T. Ma, 'Seleukids and Speech-Acts: Performative Utterances, Legitimacy and Negotiation in the World of the Maccabees,' *SCI* 19 (2000), 71–112.

The Power of the Intellectual: Leading Thinkers, Thinking Leaders

Introduction

The cultural and political climate of the Late Republic was ripe for the emergence of politically powerful individuals from among the intellectually adept elite of the provinces. In the introductory discussion we saw how Rome orientated itself in the broader historical and cultural context of the late Hellenistic world. Here, it can be shown in greater detail the power and influence which individual intellectuals could achieve under Roman hegemony. An understanding of the socio-political position of intellectuals among the provincial elite provides the necessary framework for considering the potential relevance and influence of the political perspectives expressed in the surviving texts from this period, and in particular the contemporary historical narratives.

The essential question of this chapter is the limitations on and sources of power available to the provincial intellectual. The type of power at issue here is twofold, the ability to control one's own circumstances and those of others. After a preliminary discussion of the nature of intellectual activity and its relationship to elite culture in the ancient world, our discussion will be divided into two overarching sections. The first explores constraints on an intellectual's ability to determine his own destiny, that is to say his lack of freedom to choose his geographical location, and political allegiances, and the effects of restricted personal liberty through enslavement and manumission. The second section lays out those situations in which intellectuals achieved authority and influence

over others, namely through association with political dynasts and by taking up magisterial roles within their local communities. The chapter concludes with two case studies, focusing on the career paths of Theophanes of Mytilene and Nicolaus of Damascus. The detailed testimony available on both these two individuals allows for a more holistic vision of the potential power of an intellectual from the provinces during the establishment of Roman hegemony throughout the Mediterranean.

If we again briefly consider the model offered by speech-act theory,¹ an analysis of the intellectual culture and particular representative individuals provides assurance that our 'speakers' (the historians) and their audience (the contemporary Roman and non-Roman elite) accept, and even expect, statements such as historical treatises to express relevant and topical opinions and to have serious political repercussions. The 'felicitousness' (effectiveness) of any speech-act is dependent on the status of the speaker, the context of its utterance, and the wider acceptance of its validity. The same statement whispered by a child in a darkened room may be revolutionary if published by an eminent statesman. The historical survey of the introductory chapter showed that the political potential of intellectual behaviour was generally accepted in the later Hellenistic world and the Roman Republic. This chapter, then, must tackle the status of the speakers and the audience. The discussion, particularly of the audience, will also begin to illuminate how the context of the utterances (the circulation of the historical texts) allowed them to take on political significance.

Terminology

In my classification of the status of the speakers and the audience, I have thus far restricted my vocabulary to terms such as 'intellectual' and 'elite', both of which will need further clarification as to their specific connotations within this discussion. However, the selection of this terminology also reflects my scepticism as to the utility of

¹ See my discussion at the end of the introductory chapter; cf. J. T. Ma, 'Seleukids and Speech-Acts: Performative Utterances, Legitimacy and Negotiation in the World of the Maccabees', *SCI* 19 (2000), 71–112.

formulating our understanding of ancient intellectual culture in terms of a hierarchical framework. Although it is valid to discuss client–patron relationships or the inequality between provincials and Romans, it is the inclusivity of both elite identity and intellectual culture that allowed for political interaction across social and political hierarchies. In short, among the elite of the ancient world intellectual activity could connect not just author and audience, but also subject and subjugator.

I use ‘elite’ to indicate that stratum of society which through control of resources is able to participate fully in community life and influence the civil decision-making process. This ability need not be exercised for an individual to be considered part of such a social grouping. Its dominant characteristic is the possession of leisure time and material wealth. Roman hegemony did not impinge on the status of local elite, but by encouraging such individuals to identify with the Roman ruling class, instead of with their regional or ethnic communities, the Romans created a powerful ‘us and them’ mentality based on economic means, instead of geographical origins.² An understanding of this broad conception of the elite is fundamental to the assessment of the power of the intellectual, as it is through their membership of this social grouping that intellectuals gained a politically powerful audience and therefore acquired political influence themselves.

The term ‘intellectual’ designates those who dedicate most of their time to mental activity and verbal production, either oral or written. A prerequisite is the possession of sufficient leisure time and material wealth to allow for such activity and production, which thus places intellectuals among the broad social stratum of the elite.³ The social

² P. A. Brunt, ‘The Romanization of the Local Ruling Classes in the Roman Empire’, in his *Roman Imperial Themes* (1990), 267–81.

³ It is questionable whether the Greeks or Romans shared the modern conception of the intellectual, but the set of activities defined as intellectual can exist without the conception of the overarching category; so A. B. Breebart, ‘The Freedom of the Intellectual in the Roman World’, *Talanta* 7 (1975), 55–75. Also see H. Bardon, ‘La Notion d’intellectuel à Rome’, *Studii Clasice* 13 (1971), 96–107. Suet. *Gram.* 4 offers definitions from some of the related ancient terminology. For a brief survey of the development of the term and the concept of intellectualism, see the introduction and relevant endnotes in F. L. Vatai, *Intellectuals in Politics in the Greek World* (1984). Both Vatai’s work and H. B. Mattingly, ‘Poets and Politicians in Fifth-Century Greece’ in

aspects of intellectual activity brought together members of the elite from wide-ranging political and geographical backgrounds.⁴ The expectation that intellectual activity involved social interaction is perhaps best conveyed by the way in which Cicero qualifies his praise of literature as a noble pastime by requiring the learned man to apply his wisdom and shun the life of a recluse.⁵ However, not only were intellectuals expected to engage with the political elite, but also the wider elite were expected to appreciate intellectual activity.

By formulating a broad picture of the status of intellectuals of all scholarly backgrounds within the period, the historians selected for closer scrutiny in the later chapters can be located within the socio-political stratification of contemporary Mediterranean society. This illuminates not only the context for their compositions, but also the potential influence which may have been sought (or actually achieved) by the authors.

Although we have little detailed information about specific intellectuals, many names and summary references are left to us, especially in the writings of Strabo and Cicero. Such references often include an individual's place of origin and scholarly interest, and on occasion mention his connections with other intellectuals or statesmen, as well as any significant geographical movements. From

K. H. Kinzl (ed.), *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory* (1977), 231–45, are of interest for comparative purposes. Likewise, A. A. Long, 'Hellenistic Ethics and Philosophical Power', in P. Green (ed.), *Hellenistic History and Culture* (1993), 138–167, touches on significant questions concerning the impact of particular intellectual activities on society at large.

⁴ A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Greek Knowledge, Roman Power. A Review Article of E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*', *C Phil.* 83 (1988), 224–33 offers an insightful critique and summary of the issues. For a more literary than historical perspective, see T. Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire* (2002), esp. 'Literature, Power and Culture', 17–20.

⁵ Cic., *Arch.* 12. The speech provides a concise discussion of the value of intellectual pursuits and its limitations from a Roman perspective; §14 shows that literature teaches morals, and likewise extols philosophy and history for encouraging proper action—writers of both Greece and Rome preserve the memory of a glorious past. §15 argues that some men are born great, some may never improve through education, but the best men are those who are born noble and then educated. Examples are given from previous generations of Romans. §16 illustrates the versatile appeal and portability of intellectual pursuits as a hobby. Finally, §§17–19 discuss the value of intellectuals to non-intellecuals, namely entertainment and prestige.

these fragmented testimonies it is possible to demonstrate the 'power' of the intellectual.

The term 'power' has been selected for its dynamic connotations, in preference to such words as 'liberty', 'freedom', or even 'influence'.⁶ As noted above, the power available to intellectuals in the ancient world can be divided conceptually into two categories: control over one's own circumstances and influence over the lives of others. Obviously, there are infinite means of control, from violent force to value systems, and the situations in which such power may be exercised are equally diverse. Here, I am concerned with identifying common degrees and means of control held and exercised by intellectuals throughout the Mediterranean world, but with particular reference to the increasing influence of Rome, not just in political spheres of action, but also as a magnet for scholarly activity.

As implied by my working definition of elite, both wealth and political position are also commonly associated with power, as they provide easy access to certain means of influence. It seems worthwhile to reiterate that intellectuals were invariably members of the elite. The leisure time and disposable income needed for self-education were rare luxuries in the ancient world, where the vast majority of the population was at subsistence level. Moreover, the skilled man-hours and materials needed to produce texts also made books themselves an elusive commodity even to the literate.⁷ So to assume that an intellectual was a relatively wealthy man is safe

⁶ The primary distinction between the discussions of Dover and Breebart ('The Freedom of the Intellectual in Greek Society' and 'The Freedom of the Intellectual in the Roman World', *Talanta* 7 (1975), 24–54 and 55–75 respectively) and my own is that they primarily focus on the society's responses to intellectuals, whereas I am concerned with the intellectual as an actor in society. Breebart attempts to differentiate modern concepts of freedom from the ancient. Likewise there is little parallel between my discussion and those in A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf (eds.), *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (1994), which focus on the actual skills and mechanics of reading and writing in their cultural context, not the exclusive products of the upper echelons of society.

⁷ Again, Cicero is an excellent source of examples: *Att.* 97.4 SB = 5.4.4 (12 May 51) has him joke about the cost of the papyrus he is giving to Atticus, whose stocks have run low; *Att.* 333.3 SB = 13.25.3 (12 July 45) refers to the cost of proper materials for a presentation copy; *Att.* 6.4 SB = 1.10.4 (c. May 67) and 9.3 SB = 1.4.3 (first half of 66) repeatedly attempt to reassure Atticus that he will have the money to buy the library he wants from him.

enough. It might even be acceptable to hypothesize that the more productive and widely travelled a man the greater his available resources.

Political position, or legal status, is often correlated with wealth, but the direction of causation of this interrelationship is not always apparent. All wealthy men had a certain degree of status which set them above their poorer counterparts. However, among the wealthy status could vary radically and was in part dependent on the cultural and political setting. For example, in Rome the difference between a freedman and a patrician whose estates were of equal value would be obvious. If these same two men were engaged in business transactions in a distant client kingdom, it would be far more difficult to differentiate their status. Such political or legal distinctions of status are thus another variable which will need consideration within this discussion.

Intellectual Authority

In order to illuminate the limitations on and sources of power available to the intellectual, our focus must often rest on those political channels which are theoretically open to most members of the elite, whether they happened to enjoy literary pursuits or not. Yet there was a certain status and authority which uniquely belonged to the intellectuals themselves. It opened doors and gave them an audience when they chose to speak. How did this subsection of the elite come to obtain such influence, independent of the standard political channels? And what means did they use to preserve this status? It is possible to distinguish certain cultural values within ancient society which elevated the status and influence of intellectuals. This is most evident in ancient attitudes towards education, the perceived benefits of learning and literature, and the reverence paid to locations traditionally associated with intellectual activity.

Many of the individual intellectuals discussed below were also educators. Although in the ancient world teachers were often men of little status, even slaves,⁸ we should not necessarily assume that

⁸ Rawson, *IL*, 66–76; A. D. Booth, 'The Image of the Professor in Ancient Society', *Échos du monde classique* 20 (1976), 1–10; and 'Some Suspect Schoolmasters', *Florilegium* 3 (1981), 1–20.

these intellectuals were also of lower status because they taught, or that their role as educators limited their access to power, quite the contrary. Their pupils tended to be eminent men or the sons of such men, and moreover, the teacher–student relationship immediately set up a power dynamic which favoured the instructor. In the course of daily living the pupil might have had greater status, wealth, or political influence, but during the teaching sessions it was the intellectual who would have the last word. The influence of a teacher over a student is subtle and persuasive. As the pupil comes to the session with an expectation of learning, the teacher, unlike a friend, has no need to persuade the pupil of his credibility. The pupil, even if he is a great world leader, lays himself open to the ideas and opinions of his instructor. The power derived from the role of the educator should never be underestimated. For a potent illustration we might consider Polybius' portrayal of his own relationship with the younger Scipio (31.23.6–25.1).

Cicero and the Elder Seneca believed that some subjects were more honourable to learn than to teach.⁹ The Roman hierarchy of genre bears some resemblance to the Greek system in that although free studies (*artes liberales*) were superior to banausic skills, such paid professions as architecture, medicine, or teaching were only worthy of free individuals who were not of the senatorial (or probably equestrian) class. The elite student could apply the knowledge he acquired as he saw fit, but the teacher was subject to the whims of a patron. However, the Romans ranked the amateur who applied his learning for the benefit of the state and his fellow citizens above anyone who dedicated himself solely to scholarly activity. Only when political tensions became so fraught as to bar participation in government, did men of the senatorial class retreat into the purely scholarly world.¹⁰ At such a desperate point, it was felt that if a

⁹ *Orat.* 11.141ff. and *Controv.* 2 pr. 5.

¹⁰ Cf. Cicero and Sallust. Cicero talks about literature as a refuge from the world of politics quite often in his letters to Atticus: 25.2 SB = 2.5.2, 26.2 SB = 2.6.2, 28.1 SB = 2.8.1, 33.2 SB = 2.13.2, 36.3 SB = 2.16.3, 84.1 SB = 4.10.1, 92.2 SB = 4.18.2, and 318.1 SB = 13.10.1. However, he also notes its lack of effect: 177.2 SB = 9.10.2 and 206.2 SB = 10.14.2; during his period of exile there is little evidence in the letters of any literary activity. Sallust discusses such issues in the introductory sections of his *Bellum Catilinae* (3–4) and *Bellum Iugurthinum* (3–4).

man could no longer aid his community by action at least he could provide 'useful' treatises.¹¹

This general perception of usefulness lent status and authority to the practitioners of various literary genres. Poetry immortalized the deeds of great men and inspired generations to come. History provided proper training for statesmen in that it gave both good and bad examples of political and military decisions; the common man might also gain insight into good and bad living from it. Rhetoric was the skill of law courts and senate houses; its successful application led to justice and benefactions. Philosophy tempered the base instincts of man; it encompassed all questions regarding the nature of existence and guided the wise, so that the wise could guide humanity:

But all books are full of such precepts, and all the sayings of philosophers, and all antiquity is full of precedents teaching the same lesson; but all these things would lie buried in darkness, if the light of literature and learning were not applied to them. How many images of the bravest men, carefully elaborated, have both the Greek and Latin writers bequeathed to us, not merely for us to look at and gaze upon, but also for our imitation.¹²

Self-Determination

As a member of the elite and as an educator the intellectual had a certain degree of personal status and potential influence, but it is still necessary to consider the limitations that contemporary society imposed on the intellectual's ability to direct the course of his own life. As alluded to above, three aspects of personal freedom are particularly key to our understanding of the power of the intellectual: the ability to determine one's working location, to select one's political affiliation, and to cope with enslavement and manumission.

Geographical Mobility, or 'The Draw of Rome'

Given the cultural importance attached to certain geographical places, say for instance Athens, it is not surprising that a general

¹¹ A. B. Breebart, 'The Freedom of the Intellectual in the Roman World', *Talanta* 7 (1975), 60–1 and 63, elaborates on these ideas.

¹² Cic. *Arch.* 14; translation by C. D. Yonge.

characteristic of the intellectual of this period is travel—specifically, journeys to centres of scholarly activity. Yet not all testimony regarding an intellectual's voyages should be treated as equal in weight. On the most basic level, travel was expensive and might be taken as further evidence of wealth. However, not all rich men actually had the freedom to direct their own movements. This basic liberty was tied to more than just a man's personal assets; it was primarily controlled by the political and military events of the day.¹³

As Rome is the catalyst for change within this period, it is sensible to begin by looking at the much-discussed influx of scholars to the city of Rome. It became a location of study to rival the great centres of the East. Strabo notes how Rome was becoming an information hub, attracting many from the provinces (14.5.15). Diodorus praises its resources for a historian (1.4.2–3); he seems to have resided there for an extended period of time. Perhaps more telling is his characterization of the city of Rome as the all-receptive sea into which rivers of people flow—this is a powerful image of the cosmopolitan nature of this metropolis (34/5.6).

There is no question that writers and lecturers thrived in that city, but why did they gravitate towards it in the first place? Setting aside for the moment the rather specific cases of enslavement and ambassadorial visits, even among independent men of means there was a range of reasons for arriving in Rome, when that might not have been wholly their own personal choice. Individuals could be motivated by political expediency or desire for intellectual recognition, but in many cases no plausible reconstruction of individual motivations is suggested by the surviving sources. It is perhaps not wholly artificial to look at individual cases on a continuum of choice from apparently total self-determination to little or no ability to resist the draw of Rome.

Aulus Licinius Archias, the poet from Antioch who arrived in Rome c.102 BC, is one of the few individual intellectuals about whom extended testimony has survived, primarily the eulogizing speech delivered in his defence in 62 BC by Cicero.¹⁴ His movements and travels are particularly well accounted for, as they have a bearing

¹³ Cf. chap. 3, 'Travelling in the World', in R. Wallace and W. Williams, *The Three Worlds of Paul of Tarsus* (1998).

¹⁴ B. K. Gold, *Literary Patronage in Greece and Rome* (1987), 73–86.

on Cicero's argument for the validity of Archias' claim to Roman citizenship. His city of origin is characterized as having once been a renowned and populous place with a reputation for scholarship and the arts (§4), suggesting a Roman perspective which saw the Eastern cities of the Diadochi as in decline. As the orator builds his narrative toward the arrival of Archias in Rome, he allows the poet to gather up a cosmopolitan status, collecting honours and approval in the communities of Asia, the Greek mainland, Southern Italy (particularly the Greek communities of Tarentum, Rhegium and Neapolis), Latium, and finally Rome (4–5). In Cicero's assessment literary appreciation at Rome was limited to the period of time preceding the civil discord. This assessment foreshadows his argument that the accusation against Archias was inspired by contemporary political rivalries. Civil discord had removed the Romans' high moral esteem of the verbal arts, and hence left Archias, a gifted poet under the patronage of a politically powerful man, open to attack. It seems from Cicero's language that Archias was a relatively young man upon his arrival, suggesting that the portrayal of his international reputation may be a slight exaggeration.¹⁵ From then on he seems to have made the city his primary residence; his only known later voyages are those in the company of Roman magistrates from his patron family.¹⁶

None of this has yet given insight into the decision-making process behind Archias' westward journey. Yet at least in Cicero's exposition Archias formulated the plan of his own free will, being unhindered by financial pressures or other issues of survival.¹⁷ For a partial explanation, it is possible to reverse Cicero's argument for the benefits

¹⁵ Cicero's sentence is particularly confusing in that he uses a Roman metaphor for youth, saying that Archias had resided in the household of the Luculli since before he shed the *toga praetexta*. First, as a non-citizen at this point he would not have literally worn such a garment. Second, whether one prefers the age of 14 or 17 for the assumption of the *toga virilis*, both ages seem too young for an eminent travelling poet of independent means. The best explanation is that Cicero was probably using the turn of phrase to condition his audience to thinking of Archias as a Roman and simply to indicate a relatively early age for his integration into the Roman system of patronage (§5).

¹⁶ He travelled with Marcus Lucullus to Sicily; on the way back to Rome he requested and received enrolment at Heraclea (§6). He also travelled with Lucius Lucullus in the east first during his quaestorship in Asia, and then again when he was general (§11).

¹⁷ Note the reference to his noble birth at the very beginning of the speech (§4).

conveyed upon the Roman state by Archias, so as to illustrate some of the benefits which Archias derived from his position. Obviously, the benefits of patronage from a consular family were at his disposal.¹⁸ However, right from the beginning of his stay he gained fruitful subject matter and a powerful audience; having come to Rome in 102 BC during the consulship of Marius and Catulus, he composed pieces about both these men, and Catulus became a devoted member of his audience (§5). His connections in Rome also included Metellus and his son Metellus Pius, Marcus Aemilius, Quintus Catulus and his son, Lucius Crassus, Drusus, the Octavii, Cato, and the Hortensii (§6). Cicero suggests that some of these men chose to associate with Archias for prestige instead of an actual love of poetry, such was his fame. Although he composed in verse, Archias' subject matter of choice seems to be contemporary historical events.¹⁹ Thus being in Rome gave him access to information and individuals closely tied to the dominant political forces of the period. It also provided an appreciative audience.

Most of those foreign intellectuals who are known to have resided for any length of time in Rome were attached to the eminent political families of the day. This characteristic is simply a by-product of our sources; those scholars who were associated with historically noteworthy individuals were more likely to enter the written records. Nevertheless, as a subset of intellectuals in Rome they are worth considering. I find it difficult to imagine that someone like Aristodemus of Nysa, a respected grammarian and rhetorician in his home city and on Rhodes, one day just decided to try his luck in Rome and then miraculously ended up teaching Pompey's children.²⁰ The same could be said for Xenarchus of Seleucia, Augustus' personal tutor.²¹ The royal Hellenistic model of invitations to court, or a system of recommendation or letters of introduction, seems far more appropriate when considering the interactions of prestigious scholars

¹⁸ These benefits would have included access to a substantial library: T.K. Dix, 'The Library of Lucullus', *Athenaeum* 80 (2000), 441–64.

¹⁹ He is known to have written on the wars with the Cimbri (§19) and Mithridates (§21); and Cicero hoped he would work up his consulship. He also wrote a Greek poem on the Luculli and possibly a drama on the Caecilii Metelli (Cic. *Att.* 16.15 SB = 1.16.15, beginning of July 61).

²⁰ Strabo 14.C650; Rawson, *IL*, 68.

²¹ Strabo 670; Bowersock, *AGW*, 33–4.

and Roman statesmen. This leads to the question, how much control would the intellectual have over initiating or declining such an advance? Apparently, denying the requests of a powerful Roman was possible. Posidonius tactfully declined to immortalize Cicero's consulship in a historical monograph, just as Archias never supplied him with the hoped-for poetic eulogy.²² The last is far more significant, in that one might have thought that Archias would be in no position to deny Cicero after benefiting from his legal defence in 62 BC. As to initiating contact, I know of no examples of a scholar seeking out the company of a particular Roman.

Turning from personal ambition to political expediency as the primary motivating factor for relocation, we come to Philo of Larissa, the head of the Academy in Athens from 110 to 88 BC, who fled to Rome when Athens sided with Mithridates.²³ Thus one of the most prestigious scholars of the day was forced to leave behind his home, and consequently some of his status. Thanks to Posidonius, a general impression of life in the city directly after the switch is known (F253 E-K = F36 Jac.). The tyrant, Athenion, was a peripatetic, and imposed terrible persecutions against supposed dissenters and anyone attempting to leave the city. It is easy to assume that the head of a rival philosophical school, particularly such a prestigious one, would have been considered a major threat. It is no surprise, then, that Philo felt he had to leave. But why Rome? On account of his leaving Athens, Philo could always in the future have been accused of hostility to the cause of Mithridates. This effectively ruled out relocation to the other intellectual centres of Asia Minor and mainland Greece until the Romano-Mithridatic wars were settled.²⁴ However,

²² Cicero's desire to have others compose on his consulship was nearly boundless, see Att. 16.15 SB = 1.16.15 (beginning of July 61) mentioning Archias and Thyillus for desired verses and Atticus' own epigrams 20.6 SB = 1.20.6 (12 May 60) alluding to the idea that others may compose on the subject 21.1-2 SB = 2.1.1-2 (c.3 June 60) on his own and Atticus' accounts of the consulship in Greek and Posidonius' rejection; and 83.4 SB = 4.6.4 (19 Apr. 55) on his soliciting of Lucceius to write on the same subject, and the positive response.

²³ Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.59, *Brut.* 306, *Tusc.* 2.9; Rawson, *IL*, 57-8 and 282-97; C. Brittain, *Philo of Larissa* (2001), 38-70.

²⁴ Plut. *Vit. Luc.* 19 illustrates the danger for those fleeing Athens during the Mithridatic Wars of going east: 'This city [Amisus] was a colony of Athens, built at that time when she flourished and was powerful at sea, upon which account many who fled from Aristion's tyranny settled here, and were admitted as citizens, but had

a bold gesture of actively seeking out the Romans would potentially set him up for recovering his position in Athens, if the Romans happened to win. If not, the actual city of Rome was probably the one cosmopolitan centre in the least immediate danger of falling to the Pontic King. Theoretically, he could have gone to Alexandria, where there were historic libraries and where, it seems, his old pupil Antiochus of Ascalon was based, but he apparently thought Rome to be the safer bet.

Caecilius (*RE* 2) of Caleacte, a Jewish freedman from Sicily, is another character of potential interest, but about whom far less is known.²⁵ An associate of both Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Timagenes of Alexandria, he wrote a history of the slave wars and treatises on oratorical theory. The cosmopolitan nature of Rome as a capital of a Mediterranean empire allowed for this mixing of men of different statuses and backgrounds within an intellectual context. Dionysius, a man of independent means, chose to work in Rome, perhaps for reasons similar to those outlined for Archias; Timagenes came as a prisoner of war, a slave. Yet what sort of story is appropriate for an ex-slave from Sicily? Did he too come into the Roman west as a prisoner of war? One is tempted to think of Pompey's taking of Jerusalem in 63 BC. Alternatively, he could have been born in slavery. More importantly, how did he end up in Rome? As a freedman, no matter if he was homebred or a freeborn captive, he would have owed an allegiance to the household of his former master and his movements would have been thus restricted. So we might imagine that this man with a bent towards the literary arts originally came to Rome at the wish of his patron, a man whose primary base was Sicily. Of course, it might be useful for such a patron to have at his disposal a skilled orator in the city where so much commerce and legal business was conducted. This is not to say that Caecilius did not want to be in Rome—it would have been far more congenial to his favoured pastimes than Sicily—but we must acknowledge that the decision could not have been completely his own.

the ill luck to fly from evils at home into greater abroad' (translated by John Dryden). This statement follows the story of the destruction of Amisus at its seizure against the wishes of Lucullus.

²⁵ Dion. Hall. *Pomp.* 3.20; Ath. 6.272f.; Plut. *Vit. Dem.* 3; bibliographical details derive from the *Suda* and have been treated with scepticism by some.

Choosing Sides

As we just saw, it was possible for eminent intellectuals to decline the literary projects recommended to them by prominent Romans, but it was another matter entirely to align oneself with a particular political stance. Just as freedom of movement was governed by factors beyond even a rich man's control, so was the ability to select one's own associates or political alliances. The practicalities of survival often forced men to choose the dominant power. Yet in this period of turmoil, supremacy could quickly change. Of particular interest are those who attempted, successfully or otherwise, to redirect their allegiance. The danger with picking a patron was that one's destiny became entwined with his. Thus the power to select a political allegiance could lead to an increase in control over others, through increased status and political influence, but also bring with it the possibility of diminishing an individual's control over himself, by removing his ability to disengage from dangerous conflicts.

Metrodorus of Scepsis entered the service of Mithridates and then attempted to change his primary allegiance to Tigranes (Plut. *Vit. Luc.* 22). This attempt cost him his life. The exact chronology is unknown, but Metrodorus either had a period in Tigranes' court with the blessing of Mithridates or remained there safely at least long enough to compose a monograph on the Armenian king.²⁶

Theophanes of Mytilene won himself a favoured place in Pompey's inner circle and composed a laudatory history of his eastern exploits. When Pompey lost his dominant position in Roman politics, Theophanes managed to use his Roman connections to stay active among the Roman elite in a somewhat diminished capacity. His ability to do so reflects the last vestiges of Roman republicanism. In the world of Hellenistic kings, there was no balance of power within the court. One was either for or against the monarch. In a state dominated by members of the oligarchy, the system of multiple shifting alliances allowed individuals to survive the collapse of their primary patron. When ultimate power at Rome came into the hands of individuals, as with Julius Caesar's dictatorship and the establishment of the

²⁶ It is significant that even the work of an intellectual at a great distance, both intellectually and physically, from Rome should be so well known to Cicero: *De or.* 2.88, 3.20, *Tusc.* 1.24.

Augustan Principate, the clients of such men faced even greater dangers if they lost favour. Timagenes was forced to flee, and Athenaeus of Seleucia, who was implicated in Murena's conspiracy, likened his accusation and pardon to death and rebirth (Strabo 14.5.4).

Metrodorus and Theophanes have been contrasted as displaying two separate responses to the volatile state of eastern politics, when tensions ran high between Rome and Pontus, and the Greek cities were trapped between them.²⁷ Yet neither Theophanes nor Metrodorus seems to have been forced to choose sides; their choices over dynastic patronage were apparently made freely with an eye to personal ambition, instead of out of any immediate political necessity. Winning the patronage of a powerful man meant gaining extended resources, not just wealth, but also access to libraries and contact with other scholars.²⁸ Such dynasts often styled themselves as educated men and collected the trappings of the enlightened lifestyle. A court position also guaranteed relative safety while travelling; if one accompanied the general, one was afforded protection. For the historian, the arrangement offered a unique opportunity for first-hand experience of subject matter. Historians, from Thucydides to Polybius, had glorified this approach in contrast with that of 'arm-chair' antiquarians.²⁹

Moreover, the intellectual seems uniquely equipped to survive in periods of turmoil, especially given the structure of Roman society and the culture of pan-Hellenism in the world of the Diadochi. Two men can be held up as illustrations of this ability and of the restrictions which might have existed on its exercise. The earlier in date, Blossius of Cumae, started out in Roman circles and ended his career in the east. While we know the rudimentary facts, we have no clear information on his motivation. This Stoic and unenfranchized Italian was well connected in Rome, being *hospes* in the family of P. Mucius Scaevola and an intimate friend of Ti. Gracchus. Unfortunately, most of the testimony regarding Blossius is polemic regarding the policies

²⁷ P. Pédech, 'Deux grecs face à Rome au Ier Siècle av. J.-C.: Métrodore de Scepsis et Théophraste de Mitylène', *Rev. Ét. Anc.* 93 (1991), 65–78.

²⁸ B. K. Gold, *Literary Patronage in Greece and Rome* (1987), 39–72, 111–14, *passim*.

²⁹ See specifically the polemic in the fragments of Book 12 of Polybius' *Histories*.

of the Gracchi and accusations that Blossius himself incited the elder brother to action. However, he was not a man limited to Romano-Italian circles: among his acquaintances was Antipater of Tarsus, who dedicated philosophical treatises to him. These international connections must have served him well in the aftermath of the Gracchan tribunate. When fleeing Rome, he ended up in Asia, specifically Pergamum. Given that city's long reputation for scholarly activity, it should not be seen as exceptional that a displaced Stoic might gravitate there. However, this placed him in the centre of yet another political turmoil. At that time Rome was trying to control the city by right of inheritance and was being opposed by Aristonicus, who claimed that the throne was his by ancestry. Blossius is said to have joined Aristonicus' cause and committed suicide after the defeat. Most scholarship has concerned itself with the possible connection between Blossius' Stoic beliefs and his political actions.³⁰ Whether philosophical principles or lesser concerns drove Blossius to seek eminent companionship, it is clear that his identity as an intellectual paved his way towards recognition. This model of abandoning Roman circles for a minor eastern dynast is a foreshadowing of Nicolaus of Damascus' career. Nicolaus is said to have started in the court of Antony and Cleopatra, teaching their children, before rising to prominence in Herod's company. However, because the only testimony on this matter is particularly late and no further details are known, I would not wish to use this assertion regarding this early stage in Nicolaus' life as the foundation for any further speculation.

Another apparently politically versatile intellectual about whom abundant testimony survives is one Curtius Nicias.³¹ He appears to

³⁰ The traditional view is found in D. R. Dudley, 'Blossius of Cumae', *JRS* 31 (1941), 94–9. For more recent scholarship, see A. Erskine, *The Hellenistic Stoa* (1989), 161–7. Much speculative writing has also been produced on Blossius, such as T. W. Africa, 'Aristonicus, Blossius and the City of the Sun', *International Review of Social History* 6 (1961), 110–24, and F. La Greca, 'Blossio di Cuma: stoicismo e politica nella Roma dei Gracchi', *Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Educazione, University of Salerno* 2 (1995), 141–77.

³¹ R. Herzog, 'Nikias und Xenophon von Kos. Zwei Charakterköpfe aus der griechisch-römischen Geschichte', *Historische Zeitschrift* 125 (1922), 189–247, was the first to track his career. R. Syme provides the clearest narrative and discussion, 'Who was Vedius Pollio?', *JRS* 51 (1961), 23–30, esp. 25–8. Magie, *Rom. Rule Asia Min.*, 1278 n. 2 lists all the relevant sources and discussions. Shackleton Bailey in his commentary on Cic. *Att.* 126.10 SB = 7.3.10 does express some doubts as to whether

have been very skilled at the art of survival, but poor at keeping the hearts of those he had won. Part of his story is recorded in Suetonius' *Lives of the Grammarians*, no. 14. The earliest datable event in his life is the moment when he loses the patronage of Pompey; being an intimate of both Pompey and C. Memmius, he was denounced by Pompey's wife for passing an inappropriate communication from Memmius to her.³² Having thus lost the favour of one of the great contenders for power at Rome, Nicias managed to stay within the highest echelons of Roman society.³³ From the letters of Cicero we know that he was a close friend of Dolabella, and on good terms with Cassius, and Cicero himself did not shun his company.³⁴ His activities in these circles do not seem particularly political. Incidents on record include such things as a case of arbitration over a loan, his confidential reports on marriage negotiations in society families, dinner parties, social visits to country estates, and influencing the property market.³⁵

Finding 'Nicias the intellectual' or 'Nicias the politician' behind 'Nicias the man about town' in the letters of Cicero is difficult, but

the Nicias of Cos in Cicero's letters is truly the same man as the tyrant of Cos. Suetonius is the only source to give his Roman name, Curtius; it is likely this was adopted from a Roman patron when he received the franchise. Syme proposes Curtius Postumus (= C. Rabirius Postumus) as a likely candidate (p. 25).

³² Syme speculates that Nicias may have arrived in Rome in 62 BC together with Pompey and Theophanes (*ibid.*). This is stated as fact by Bowersock, *AGW*, 45.

³³ Surprisingly, Bowersock (*ibid.*) seems to believe that Nicias was forced to leave Rome after the incident between Memmius and Pompey's wife, but if it is correct to date this incident to 52 BC, then the letters of Cicero provide clear evidence to the contrary. Nor is it possible to allow for a period of exile until after Pompey's death, as *Att.* 126.10 SB = 7.3.10 firmly places Nicias in Cicero's company in 50.

³⁴ *Cic. Fam.* 209.4 SB = 7.23.4 and 217.1–2 SB = 9.10.1–2. The identity of the Cassius in 209 is in doubt; in his commentary (Cambridge, 1977), Shackleton Bailey prefers L. Cassius, the younger brother of the tyrannicide, but points out that the recipient of the letter, M. Fabius Gallus, C. Cassius, and Nicias were all Epicureans. However, in Shackleton Bailey's newest edition of his translation of the letters (Loeb 2001), he notes that a change in the text is 'very probable' and prefers to identify the individual with M. Licinius Crassus, the surviving son of the Triumvir. I prefer his earlier suggestion that Nicias was intimate with the Cassii, as it helps to explain his later success in the East under the tyrannicides and has the strength of common philosophical interest, but even if he is right about Crassus, it still locates Nicias in the heart of the Roman elite.

³⁵ See *Fam.* 209.4 SB = 7.23.4 and 217.1–2 SB = 9.10.1–2; and *Att.* 293.1 SB = 12.51.1, 295.1 SB = 12.53.1, 299.3–4 SB = 13.28.3–4, and 317.2 SB = 13.9.2.

not impossible. Cicero comfortably jokes about his attempts at debt collecting as if it was all a matter of textual criticism, and refers to him as an educator (*Fam.* 217.1–2 SB = 9.10.1–2). He also refers to Nicias' expertise when defending himself against Atticus' accusation of a grammatical error. (*Att.* 126.10 SB = 7.3.10). Suetonius has no difficulty categorizing him as a man of learning, mentioning among his publications a critique of Lucretius. It may or may not be of significance that C. Memmius, whose amorous advances lost Nicias Pompey's favour, was the patron of Lucretius.

While the company he kept was obviously awash with political activity, Nicias' own interests are not abundantly evident. He does tell Cicero about Julius Caesar's troop formation as he passed Dolabella's house, and when Dolabella heads towards Syria in 44 BC as Caesar's replacement as consul, Cicero expects Nicias to accompany him.³⁶ It is not at all clear how Nicias made the transition from Dolabella's patronage to tyrant of Cos, but it seems likely that his good relations with Cassius and Brutus must have played some role.³⁷ In order to have kept the position for eight years he must also have developed cordial relations with Antony, as Cos was well within his sphere of action.³⁸ It has been speculated that part of his posthumous lack of popularity came from his fulfilment of Antony's order that the sacred trees be cut down to build ships for his fleet.³⁹ Yet while he reigned the people of Cos made sure to give no hint of their displeasure. Besides having his image on the local coinage, he is known from a remarkable number of inscriptions, usually referring

³⁶ *Att.* 353.2 SB = 13.52.2, 363.3 SB = 14.9.3, and 397.1 SB = 15.20.1.

³⁷ For the literary testimony on his tyranny, see the brief note at Strabo 14.2.19.

³⁸ The coins of Cos from this period bear his portrait on the obverse and the name of the annual magistrate on the reverse. Eight different magistrates are coupled with his portrait in extant specimens, suggesting the length of his reign; however, the chronological order or dates for these magistrates is unknown—a die study would be necessary to establish such information (*RPC* 1.1, nos. 2724–31). The discussion of these coins in *RPC* suggests that the portrait type used by Nicias on his coinage bears a symbolic relationship to that of Octavian. However, there is no need to attribute any similarity to political affiliation. The bareheaded profile of a beardless man is familiar from the coins of Antony.

³⁹ Bowersock, *AGW*, 45 n. 5, following Dio 51.8.3. However, Dio does not put the blame for the cutting on Antony, but instead on Publius Turullius, a senator, associate of Antony, and one of those responsible for assassinating Caesar.

to him as ‘The Patriotic Son of the People, Hero, Benefactor of the City.’⁴⁰ Their ‘true’ feelings are summed up in the following epigram.

Do not say death is life’s boundary; for those bygone,
just as for the living, new sufferings may begin.
Observe the fate of Nicias of Cos; no sooner was he laid
in Hades, than his corpse came under Helios’ light.
For the citizens, hoisting the fastening of his tomb,
dragged him for retribution so that he might suffer death twice.⁴¹

The life story of Nicias of Cos will seem less preposterous when set against those of other intellectuals deputized by various dynasts within the period. Particularly worthy of note in Nicias’ case is his ability to retain his status with a host of Roman commanders. Part of his success may have been his intimate knowledge of Roman society with its concept of duty and patronage. It is hard to say how much rested on his intellectual status, though it surely contributed to his desirability as a companion. Cicero says that there were few men who could compare as affable guests (*Att.* 265.2 SB = 12.26.2).

Was it possible for a man to move in such circles and stay clear of politics? Early in the period we have the example of the doctor Asclepiades of Bithynia.⁴² He came to Rome on his own initiative and won his clientele by his skill at oratory and the mildly pleasant nature of his treatments. Some of the most important men in Rome utilized his services and enjoyed listening to his theoretical lectures. His fame was such that Mithridates Eupator, who was known for his interest in pharmacology, extended an invitation to his court. Some

⁴⁰ W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos* (1891), nos. 76–80; all have exactly the same text [Θεοῖς πατρώοις περὶ τῆς Νικίας, τοῦ δάμου υἱοῦ, φιλοπάτριδος, ἥρωος, εὐεργέτα δὲ τῆς πόλιος σωτηρίας]. Paton considers that the lack of a dedicator’s name and the use of the formula *Θεοῖς πατρώοις* indicates that these were intended for display in or just outside family homes. He also finds significance in the placement of *τοῦ δάμου υἱοῦ* immediately after the name where an actual patronymic should be found, instead of within the string of honorific titles. He concludes that there may have been some reason for suppressing Nicias’ father’s name. *RE* XVII. 334 gives details of a further four inscriptions.

⁴¹ (Crinagoras, 22). The translation is my own. Crinagoras himself is an interesting example of a powerful intellectual; originally an ambassador from Mytilene, he eventually settled in Augustus’ court writing verses on contemporary events; Bowersock, *AGW*, 36–7.

⁴² E. Rawson, ‘The Life and Death of Asclepiades of Bithynia’, *CQ* 32 (1982), 358–70, and R. Polito, ‘On the life of Asclepiades of Bithynia’, *JHS* 119 (1999), 48–66.

have hazarded a guess as to the timing of the invitation in relation to Mithridates' hostilities with Rome, but the date is of little consequence for our purposes. Whenever the request arrived, Asclepiades turned it down. In Rome, Asclepiades could pursue his interests as he pleased, interacting with a variety of men, but in a royal court he would have only had one primary patient and that man might have been interested in directing his scholarly pursuits as well. The truth of this is clear when we compare how Herod controlled the work of Nicolaus.⁴³ Asclepiades' ability to decline was in part derived from his geographical position. The king could exert no pressure. If Asclepiades had received the invitation while working in Bithynia, he might have been hard pressed to resist.

Enslavement, or 'The Apolitical Intellectual'

In the vast majority of the instances already discussed, we have seen how provincial intellectuals utilized their personal freedoms to bring themselves closer to the centres of power, both physically and theoretically. This final subsection reiterates this connection between intellectual status, personal choice, and political identity, by illustrating how the removal of self-determination politically neutralizes the voice of the intellectual.

It was the standard practice of the Romans, as well as most other ancient peoples, to sell those taken alive at the sacking of a city. The human population was as much a source of wealth as the inanimate booty. Pirates also engaged in raids specifically to feed the slave trade. Tax collectors or moneylenders could extract payment from the sale of an individual who could not otherwise pay. The value of an individual slave was tied not only to physical condition, but also to skills.⁴⁴ A highly educated slave who could entertain through lively readings, discussions, and even compositions, as well as being a tutor

⁴³ See the final section of this chapter.

⁴⁴ Suet. *Gram.* 3, reports the value of an educated slave: Lutatius Daphnis is said to have been sold for 700,000 sesterces and soon afterwards set free (also see Pliny, *NH* 7.128); and the value of a schoolmaster (free status unknown): Lucius Appuleius was hired at a rate of 400 sesterces a year. Both of these figures are supposed to be astonishing, and cannot be taken to represent any sort of average. By way of contrast, Appian gives an astonishingly low figure for a (presumably unskilled) slave of four drachmas (*Mith.* 78).

for any younger members of a household, was a prized luxury item for many of the Roman elite. However, it is doubtful whether most of the intellectuals who are known to have been enslaved were actually selected for their market value.

In war, the selection of intellectuals for enslavement may have been a symbolic gesture by the victorious side. Enslavement could transform an intellectual from a 'voice of civic leadership' into a 'luxury commodity'. We might think of their appropriation along the lines of the confiscation of libraries. A library's value went beyond its fair market price; it indicated the public resources of a town or monarch. A city with an impressive library could claim that its energies were spent not just on improving its fortifications, but also on reaching a higher degree of civilization. When the Romans took the library, they transferred that civilizing force to Rome.⁴⁵ Likewise, when an intellectual was taken prisoner it ensured that his energies would be redirected towards the glorification of Rome, instead of his own home town. The prestige gained by a civic centre from the scholarly fame of its native sons is readily apparent from the way Strabo consistently recalls such individuals for the cities he describes. Unlike libraries, intellectuals could also provide strong political leadership for their communities—most excelled at public speaking, the primary tool of both the scholar and the politician. Even if such men had not yet played this role in their communities, the Romans must have known that they could easily step in to fill the void, once the army marched away. By taking such men away with them, the Romans ensured that whatever political structure they left behind would not be threatened by them.⁴⁶

That enslavement was in fact symbolic is indicated by the regularity of quick emancipation. While a grant of freedom eliminated any

⁴⁵ The precedent for commanders seizing books is extensive: Lucullus gained his library as plunder from Pontus (Isid. *Etym.* 6.5.1); Aemilius Paulus took the library of Perseus (Plut. *Vit. Aem.* 28.6); Sulla seized the so-called library of Aristotle from Athens (Strabo 13.1.54 and Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 26.1–3); Pompeius Strabo looted book booty from Asculum (Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 4.1); and Antony claimed the library of Pergamum for relocation to Alexandria (Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 58.9). This issue is touched upon by T.K. Dix, 'The Library of Lucullus', *Athenaeum* 80 (2000), 441–64.

⁴⁶ Of course, intellectuals could also act in a manner beneficial to Rome in the provinces. Consider the introduction of intellectual tyrants in some cities; see below for discussion.

monetary value attached to the captured intellectual, the liberated man still remained politically neutral and in debt to the Romans. Manumission in the Roman form meant admission into Roman citizenship, with modified rights and a unique relationship between patron and *libertus*.⁴⁷

Above all, we must note the strong stigma attached to enslavement, so that it is one of the few personal details actually to survive about many lesser-known intellectuals. It will be illustrative to review just a few personal instances, noting the peculiarities. For many intellectual ex-slaves, only sparse biographical information is transmitted. The prolific writer, Alexander Polyhistor, originally from Miletus, received his freedom from Sulla. It is not clear whether he was Sulla's own slave freed for personal reasons, or someone else's slave freed on account of his literary fame. Alternatively, one might imagine that he was among the slaves freed in the proscriptions. It is difficult to extract any concrete evidence as to how his enslavement redirected the course of his career. However, we find among his fragments works on Rome and Italy which must have been influenced by his experiences. It is interesting to note that not a single contemporary source survives which mentions Alexander.⁴⁸ It is difficult to detect the impact of Rome in the work of Parthenius of Nicaea, besides the personal grief he felt over displacement. Still, he left his mark on Roman literature; he is credited with inspiring the increased interest in elegiac poetry, and his influence can be seen in Virgil.⁴⁹

Of greater fame is the freedman Tyrannion; Plutarch gives an account of his enslavement at the sack of Amisus:

On this occasion Tyrannion the grammarian was taken. Murena begged him of Lucullus, and took him and made him a freedman; but in this he abused Lucullus' favour, who by no means liked that a man of high repute for learning should be first made a slave and then freed; for freedom thus speciously granted again was a real deprivation of what he had before. But

⁴⁷ S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (1969), is the definitive work on the subject; in particular, see her discussion on subservient foreign intellectuals (pp. 110ff.). Of course, if the slave was manumitted by will, he would not necessarily have any obligations to his former master or his next of kin.

⁴⁸ See Jac., no. 273 for collected testimony, which is all from later authors.

⁴⁹ J. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* (1999), 50–76.

not in this case alone Murena showed himself far inferior in generosity to the general.⁵⁰

Plutarch's stinging analysis of the result of enfranchisement by manumission well supports the hypothesis that such action neutralizes the political potential of the recipient. Nevertheless, Tyrannion made connections with some of the most powerful politicians in Rome and through them gained access to impressive collections of books. He organized the remains of Cicero's library after his return from exile (*Att.* 78.1 and 79.2 SB = 4.4a.1 and 4.8.2). He gained access to the library of Apellicon of Teos, said to be the library of Aristotle and Theophrastus, which Sulla had brought to Rome; this privilege he sought for his own love of the subject matter, and so courted its owner (Strabo 13.1.54). Strabo identifies him as his teacher (12.3.16), and he also seems to have taught the nephew of Cicero and Atticus in the house of the former (*Cic. Q Fr.* 8.2 SB = 2.4.2, Mar. 56).⁵¹ His scholarly reputation was such that Cicero wrote in despairing tones to Atticus about facing his possible criticism of Cicero's proposed geographical treatise (26.1 SB = 2.6.1, Apr. 59).⁵² Here, we begin to see the difference between the power of the intellectual freedman and any other ex-slave. Cicero's willingness to defer to Tyrannion's authority would not have been possible without Tyrannion's education. Whether Tyrannion could utilize this authority outside the intellectual sphere is unknown, but seems unlikely.

To reach a more balanced understanding of this type of intellectual deference to freedmen, some discussion can be devoted to one of the most frequent characters in Cicero's letters to Atticus, Dionysius.⁵³ He first appears working alongside Tyrannion in the restoration of the library, being one of a pair of slaves provided for the job by Atticus (79.2 SB = 4.8.2, summer 56). The exact date he received his freedom is not known, although he receives frequent mention in the

⁵⁰ (*Vit. Luc.* 19), translated by John Dryden.

⁵¹ Strabo 12.3.16 and *Cic. Q Fr.* 8.2 SB = 2.4.2, Mar. 56; Rawson, *IL*, 69.

⁵² Shackleton Bailey in his commentary assumes that Tyrannion was contemplating a geography himself, not just that he might criticize Cicero's. We might also compare how eager Atticus is to experience the treatise on Greek accents which Tyrannion dedicated to him (*Cic. Att.* 306.2 SB = 12.6.2).

⁵³ The best narratives on his life and historical significance are S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (1969), 119–21 and J. Christes, *Sklaven und Freigelassene als Grammatiker und Philologen im antiken Rom* (1979), 107–15.

letters over the next two years. Cicero discusses the formation of his *tria nomina* in the letter of 27 July 54, so it may have been about that time. He has received his *praenomen* from Cicero and his *nomen* from Atticus, and kept his Greek name as *cognomen* (90.1 SB = 4.15.1). Cicero regularly mentions his attachment and admiration for Dionysius,⁵⁴ and even defers to his judgement on intellectual matters (116.3 SB = 6.2.3). He takes pride in ‘spoiling’ his pet intellectual, claiming to have built him his own space in one of his villas (93.2 SB = 4.19.2), and says that he treated him better than Scipio did Panaetius (179.2 SB = 9.12.2). Dionysius is given the task of educating the young Ciceros, Quintus and Marcus, even though they complain of his temper (115.12 SB = 6.1.12). And, when Cicero goes to Cilicia, so does Dionysius.⁵⁵ Cicero makes clear his affection for Dionysius, but also a clear awareness of their positions in the social hierarchy. ‘I have found him, indeed, both a good scholar (which I knew before) and a man of high character, very obliging, careful too of my reputation, honest, and—not to give him only the praise that suits a freedman—a thoroughly good man’ (127.1 SB = 7.4.1; c.13 Dec. 50).⁵⁶ Unfortunately, the gears of the client–patron system grind to a halt the moment Cicero detects a lack of ‘appropriate’ reciprocity. The consular’s standards are high. He complains about Dionysius first not because of any insult, but because he suspects ingratitude based on Atticus’ own silence on any having been expressed by Dionysius (130.1 SB = 7.7.1). Then, as Cicero’s own political career is rocked with turmoil, Dionysius becomes aloof, refusing to commit himself.⁵⁷ Cicero’s words are sharp and revealing:

Of course I know what his duty will be in case I have to fly, and what will be the conduct becoming a man of learning and a friend, but I don’t expect too much in this way from Greeks. (142.3 SB = 7.18.3, 3 Feb. 49).

⁵⁴ A quick understanding of his usual tone can be gleaned from *Att.* 82.1 SB = 4.8.a.1, 86.2 SB = 4.11.2, 88.2 SB = 4.14.2, 90.10 SB = 4.15.10, 92.5 SB = 4.18.2.

⁵⁵ See 96.3 SB = 5.3.3, 102.3 SB = 5.9.3, and throughout the letters of 51–50 BC.

⁵⁶ It should be noted that the adjective, *bonus*, translated here as ‘good’, is also Cicero’s preferred substantive to denote those men who he considers ‘right-thinking’, i.e. well-educated men of a certain social and economic status with a particular conservative outlook.

⁵⁷ The list of complaining letters is a long one: 130.1 SB = 7.7.1, 131.1 SB = 7.8.1, 142.3 SB = 7.18.3, 150.3 SB = 7.26.3, 156.1–2 SB = 8.4.1–2, 157.1 SB = 8.5.1, 159 SB = 8.10, 179.2 SB = 9.12.2, 183.5 SB = 9.15.5, 192.2 SB = 10.2.2, and 208.1 SB = 10.16.1. All are written in 50 and 49 BC.

I hope he may be loyal to you: that is equivalent to wishing you to remain prosperous: he will be so just as long as you are. (208.1 SB = 10.16.1, 14 May 49).

The very hurt and obsession that Cicero experiences over this apparent betrayal bely the social niceties. He was deeply attached to this man, who was of minor status, and thus particularly wounded when his conception of this intellectual was shattered.⁵⁸ How they resolved their differences is unknown, but by 45 BC Dionysius is once again being mentioned with deep respect (304 and 330.1 SB = 13.2b and 13.33a.1). Clearly Dionysius is not a political figure, but it is instructive to see the emotional as well as intellectual grip he has over Cicero, and how that allows him to retain his position over periods of political turmoil.

The playwright Terence (Publius Terentius Afer), native to Carthage, also underwent a period of servitude. How he became a slave is not clear, as according to Suetonius' source, Fenestella, he lived and died between the Second and Third Punic Wars. The granting of both his education and his freedom are said to have been inspired by his good looks and talent. He lived on intimate terms with Scipio Africanus and C. Laelius (*fl.* 146 BC), who are both rumoured to have helped him to compose.⁵⁹ The prologue to the *Adelphoe* seems to allude to this. Other ancient writers proposed a whole range of potential Romans who may have contributed to his compositions, or even served as ghost-writers. Part of the disbelief in the originality of his compositions rests in the quality of his Latin as contrasted with his status as a young foreign freedman. All surviving plays are said to have been composed before he reached the age of 25. The literary tradition holds that at this point he travelled east and died in a

⁵⁸ One might compare another incident where Cicero records his conflicting feelings over social hierarchy, notably with a slave engaged in educated pursuits: '... at the moment of writing, I am in considerable distress: for a delightful youth, my reader Sosthenes, has just died, and his death has affected me more than that of a slave should, I think, do' (*Att.* 12.4 SB = 1.12.4 (1 Jan. 61)).

⁵⁹ Cicero, when quoting Terence to support a grammatical argument, makes reference to the common belief that the plays attributed to him were actually the work of C. Laelius, because of their elegance and diction (*Att.* 126.10 SB = 7.3.10, 9 Dec. 50).

remote location. Because of the many political allusions in the surviving plays of his predecessor, Plautus, modern scholars have looked for similar features in the work of Terence. All have gone away empty-handed; even a systematic analysis of vocabulary common to political rhetoric has proved fruitless.⁶⁰ The same study finally concludes that the lack of politics in Terence can be attributed to the stifling nature of the politics of the Scipionic circle, which embraced Greek culture as long as it did not contradict *mos maiorum*. Thus the transmitted narrative of Greek plays could be enjoyed as long as they did not attack the Roman establishment. Terence would then represent the middle ground between reluctant older Roman conservatism and youthful enthusiasm for Hellenistic luxury. Whether such a theory is accepted, the apolitical nature of the plays fits the emerging trend among the intellectual freedmen of non-Roman origins, namely that their literary energies seem to be redirected for the benefit of Rome, and they lose any previous potential for political participation.

The last two freedmen to be mentioned might be thought to have some political voice, but for both it was still minimal as compared with the other intellectuals of the period. Suetonius paints a fanciful picture of Cn. Pompeius Lenaeus (*Gram.* 15). It is said that he was stolen as a boy from Athens, escaped, returned to Athens to study, offered his price for freedom to his former master, Pompey, and was given freedom on his literary merit. The idea of his escape and return seems spurious. No information is given for the time of his capture, although one might think of Sulla's campaign against the city. If the story is interpreted as a fiction, it could have been created to allow the man to become Pompey's freedman, and hence a Roman citizen with a strong patron. Whatever the origin of his freedman's status, he travelled on Pompey's campaigns in the Civil Wars, and possibly Sextus' too. Afterwards, he established a school in Rome and actively defended Pompey's memory against such men as Sallust. Whether his original capture, escape, and return is believable, it is obvious that obtaining manumission redirected the man's focus from his home of Athens to his new patron, the patron's family and city, and even the

⁶⁰ D. C. Earl, 'Terence and Roman Politics', *Historia* 11 (1962), 469–85, especially 471–2, for his use of *virtus* and related concepts.

patron's posthumous memory. That this freedman can be portrayed as arguing with a man of senatorial class demonstrates again the possible advantages in social status conveyed by intellectual achievement.

It is often forgotten that the historian Timagenes of Athens was also a freedman. This is the man whom some would like to see as the source for many supposedly hostile treatments of Roman history. His fabled animosity to Rome may be exaggerated. For a significant amount of time he was under the patronage of Augustus, and even when he fell out of imperial favour he fled to the house of another Roman, Asinius Pollio. Whether the sharp comments to which Augustus took offence were inspired by his period of enslavement cannot be known.⁶¹ What can be said is that his hostility to Rome became a useful literary topos for later writers; the development of this tradition was clearly accelerated by the Senecas.⁶²

Clearly, slavery seems to have turned most men into Romans themselves, instead of dissenters. All these men stayed in Rome. None is known to have gained significant political power or influence. All continued to produce volumes of academic material, which were then at the disposal of the Romans. Whether or not the Romans intended enslavement and manumission to result in politically neutralized intellectuals whose scholarly energies were redirected to the benefit of Rome, this was the end product of their policy. The scholarly freedman retained his intellectual authority, but lost his freedom to select the location in which he worked, and his ability to choose political allegiances was negligible.

A Wider Sphere of Influence

Beyond potential constraints, intellectuals had considerable impact on the lives of those around them, both through their intimate relationships with powerful dynasts and through the political roles they assumed within their local communities. In relation to this type of power, too, our understanding is obviously skewed by the available

⁶¹ Bowersock, *AGW*, 109–11.

⁶² The elder in *Controv.* 10.5.22 and the younger in *de Ira* 3.23.4–6 and *Ep.* 91.13.

sources, since men who directed the destiny of many others are more likely to enter the historical record. Yet there may be a deeper problem regarding the historicity of the available testimony on ancient intellectuals and their political associations. Writers in later antiquity had specific ideas about the roles for the learned man in society, particularly the philosopher. They sought out patterns to fit their ideals and selected historical examples to illustrate their moralizing statements. There is no need to distrust the basic biographical information which has been transmitted, but it is imprudent to allow the ancient authors to provide the interpretation of that evidence. However, the types of individual of whom we are aware generally fall into the same categories highlighted by the ancient sources. It thus becomes necessary to examine the validity of the individual categories and the subdivisions thereof. The analysis begins with the most discussed phenomenon: the learned counsellor in the entourage of a political leader. This is followed by a section on intellectuals who assume authority within their own civic communities. This division goes back to Plato's famous passage in the *Republic* (473D), where he predicts endless woes unless the philosophers assume rulership or the rulers accept philosophy.⁶³ And it is not absent from the historians of the Late Republic; take for example the fragment of Diodorus in which he explains the connection between Numa the king of the Romans and Pythagoras (8.14). According to this account, Numa laid down ordinances for the worship of the gods and other matters in accordance with the philosopher's instruction, and his very summons to the kingship was because of his instruction and wisdom.

Whether discussing intellectual leaders or philosophical counsellors, we find much diversity in the types of power which might be assumed by the individual in question. A series of questions must be borne in mind: From where does the authority derive? Over whom is it exercised? And how does this manifest itself in our available sources?

⁶³ M. Griffin, 'Philosophy, Politics, and Politicians at Rome', *Philosophia Togata I*, 1–37, opens with a discussion of this passage and goes on to give a useful introduction to the interrelationship of statecraft and philosophy, incorporating a wider perspective than Rome alone. For a discussion of Plato's concept in its contemporary philosophical context, see M. Schofield, *Saving the City* (1999), 31–50.

Fraternizing with the Dynasts

An intellectual could derive two separate and distinct types of power from his interactions with a statesman; the effectiveness of both originated in the statesman's own authority. On the one hand, the intellectual could be deputized by the statesman, officially or unofficially, to act as his agent and exercise authority over various populations. On the other, the intellectual could utilize his personal relationship with the statesman to redirect his thoughts and intentions.

The ruler's relationship to his philosophical adviser is a favourite topos of writers such as Plutarch and Aelian.⁶⁴ The moderating force of the learned man was seen as a means of balancing the naturally power-hungry commander. By showing a military dynast as lending an ear to humane teachings, the writer could characterize him as a benevolent ruler with the interests of the greater good foremost in his mind. Thus Plutarch says, 'where a philosopher attaches himself to a man of power in politics and affairs, and infects him with goodness of character, many have benefited through one man.'⁶⁵

One might also consider that the later writers found such characterizations in their own favour, as they themselves may have coveted such advisory positions. However, the desire to create such a relationship might be so tempting as to lure writers away from historical fact into flights of fancy. As we have seen, in the Late Republic and Early Principate, it even became fashionable to believe that the legendary King Numa, known as a peaceable lawgiver, was the pupil of Pythagoras,⁶⁶ although it was well known among contemporaries that this was a chronological impossibility by about 140 years.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ E. Rawson, 'Roman Rulers and the Philosophic Advisor', *Philosophia Togata I*, 233–57 has much useful discussion, but it focuses primarily on the Imperial period.

⁶⁵ Plut. *Mor.* 1.777a. The translation is taken from Kidd, *Trans.*, 329 = Pos. F254 E–K = F30 Jac.

⁶⁶ Diod. 8.14; Ov. *Fast.* 3.151–4, *Met.* 15.1–8, 15.60–72, 15.479–84, and *Pont.* 3.341–4. Plutarch, in his *Life of Numa*, is well aware of the chronological discrepancy, but is reluctant to denounce the connection: he proposes an 'alternative' Pythagoras, an Olympic victor, as counsellor, and also highlights similarities in thought between the philosopher and the lawgiver (1.3–4, 8.2–8, 11.1–2, and 22.3–4).

⁶⁷ Cic. *Rep.* 2.28–9; Dion. Hall. *Ant. Rom.* 2.59.2; Livy 1.18.1–3.

We have already looked at some of the benefits and consequences to the intellectual of accepting a position with a ruler, but it is fair to ask also what incentives were present for the ruler. As has been mentioned, the acceptance of an adviser means sharing material resources and possibly even one's authority. Such a partnership, however unequal, involved some sacrifice on the part of the ruler as well, making him slightly more vulnerable. Thus what counterbalanced these drawbacks? What made it beneficial to the dynast to imbue the intellectual with his own authority? A favourite answer is that the association lent an air of Hellenic culture to his regime. The powerful figures of this period, the Romans and Mithridates, resided on the edges of the Greek world—just like Alexander of Macedon and his successors. By indulging the Hellenic sense of cultural superiority, they could make the bitter pill of subjugation easier to swallow; the historical context for this phenomenon was discussed at length in the introductory chapter.

However, while this explanation may be acceptable in many situations, it is not a full picture. One must also remember that the intellectual arts were an enjoyable pastime, a portable hobby for intelligent active men.⁶⁸ Many rulers considered themselves intellectuals and dedicated some time to their own compositions; a few names will suffice to illustrate: Herod, Julius Caesar, and Augustus himself. Moreover, intellectuals were often leaders of their local communities, with a wealth of political experience, and skilled in the indispensable art of oratory. Their advice need not only have been ethical, but could easily have been pragmatic as well.

So far the working assumption has been that the intellectual adviser was in an inferior position to the ruler. This hypothesis is on the surface correct, for if the influence of the intellectual derives from the ruler, then he must himself be under the control of the ruler. In the previous section we also saw how difficult it could be for an individual to disengage from his relationship with a political figure. However, one model does not fit all the known cases; there is a wide spectrum of relationships, from strong friendships to loose

⁶⁸ J. Barnes, 'Antiochus of Ascalon', *Philosophia Togata I*, 51–96, argues this point strongly; he also reviews the evidence for seeing Lucullus as himself an intellectual. Cic. *Arch.* 12–19, discusses just this appeal of literature; see especially p. 16.

associations. In a few instances the ancient sources would even have us believe the intellectual was able to abuse his influence with his patron statesman to direct affairs of state. The strength of the relationship is directly correlated to the degree of power the intellectual derived from the arrangement. On the strongest end of the spectrum one thinks of the affiliation of Theophanes and Pompey, to which I shall return below as a separate case study. Yet it may also be productive to review relationships of less intensity, or which led to less political power for the intellectual. It seems probable that it is somewhere in the middle-to-low end of the spectrum that the vast majority of such relationships belong.

Antiochus of Ascalon was a long-term intimate of Lucullus, travelling with him during his quaestorship and then again nearly a decade later during his great eastern campaigns. Yet we know he was not constantly at Lucullus' side; Cicero heard him lecturing in Athens in 79, and it is clear from the wealth of testimony regarding his scholarly activities, lectures, publications and pupils, that much of his time was focused away from Lucullus' life. Two later sources, Aelian and Plutarch, attempt to characterize Antiochus' advice to Lucullus as political in nature, but they provide no clear examples, and both were fond of the philosophical adviser topos.⁶⁹ The *Index Academicorum* says he went on embassies, but it clearly means that he represented some unknown city or cause to the Romans, not that he acted on behalf of the Romans. One might assume that his Roman connections, specifically with Lucullus, made him a more effective ambassador, but that is purely speculation. So in Antiochus we find a dedicated scholar with a strong friendship with a powerful Roman commander; yet the scholar seems to have engaged only mildly in politics. When he did become involved, he apparently exercised his influence with the Romans for the benefit of other communities, instead of the other way around.

Other known relationships had even less of a political dimension. Antipater of Tyre is credited with introducing Cato the Younger to Stoicism (Plut. *Vit. Cat. Min.* 4.1). While Cato certainly used his personal philosophy to justify the course of his political career, there

⁶⁹ Ibid., esp. 56–7, stresses the paucity of evidence for Antiochus' fitting the model of a political adviser.

is no evidence that Antipater would have condoned, or even imagined, such an application. Likewise, Antiochus' younger brother, Aristus of Ascalon, had a close relationship with Brutus, but one need not imagine that it had a political dimension. Cicero made a point of visiting Aristus in Athens in 51BC and in a letter to Atticus calls him the best philosopher the city has to offer, though this may be damning the man with faint praise (103.5 SB = 5.10.5). He obviously appealed to the highest circles of Roman society, and he too seems to have stood aloof from political matters. Aelian, in his desire to give all leaders fit counsel, tried to attach Ariston of Alexandria posthumously to Julius Caesar, but at most the general might have attended a lecture.⁷⁰

At the other extreme, the intellectuals attached to Augustus, as long as they remained in favour, wielded considerable power.⁷¹ Areius Didymus is an excellent example, not just of the power to be had, but also of later literary presentations. His relationship with Augustus and his court position is artfully illustrated at the end of Plutarch's *Life of Antony* with Octavian's entry into Alexandria.⁷² He is represented as a close counsellor, always at the leader's side. He is consulted on matters of life and death, and Plutarch inserts a quotation modelled on Homer as an appropriate response in the mouth of such a philosopher. In Plutarch's *Moralia* the Alexandrian episode is more explicitly used to exemplify Areius' use of his influence for the common good. If this was all we knew, we might dismiss Areius' status as a clever exaggeration by Plutarch, but this same man was given a procuratorship in Sicily, and also had enough status to decline an important assignment in Egypt.

Of course not all relationships are recorded in such a positive light. Certain Greek intellectuals had a reputation for being a subversive influence on their Roman patrons, for instance Blossius and Diophanes on Ti. Gracchus.⁷³ As will be seen below, Plutarch chose to represent Theophanes in a similar light. While it might be tempting to dismiss the concept of subversive intellectuals as a literary conceit—a means of shifting blame away from the memory of a popular politician—the concept is not limited to the later literary tradition.

⁷⁰ E. Rawson, 'Roman Rulers and the Philosophic Advisor', *Philosophia Togata I*, 242.

⁷¹ Bowersock, *AGW*, 30–41.

⁷² C. Pelling, *Plutarch, Life of Antony* (1988), 310–13.

⁷³ *Plut. Vit. Ti. Gracch.* 8.5 and *Cic. Amic.* 37.

The damnation of Blossius is found in Cicero as well as Plutarch. Moreover, there are the early incidents such as the expulsion of the philosophers from Rome. Such behaviour clearly illustrates a degree of suspicion regarding foreign educators, which had to be overcome before intellectuals could assume the role of counsellors within the political sphere.

To sum up these observations on the power of the political adviser, it should be emphasized that not all friendships between statesmen and scholars involved a political dimension. When they did, the power transferred to the intellectual was of a variable degree, and the scholar had some control over how he chose to use that power. Obviously, the possible grant of authority was in part dictated by the degree of power held by the statesman. It is not surprising to find the most influential intellectuals attached to men such as Pompey and Augustus. This also explains why the picture so much favours the Romans. While one can name a few intellectuals attached to the court of Mithridates, and Nicolaus is found in Alexandria and Judaea, the vast majority of powerful commanders who could attract intellectuals in this period came from Rome.

Civil Service

Thus far I have been setting up a fictional dichotomy between those intellectuals who derived their power from the great commanders of the period and those who gained political power of their own accord through the traditional institutions of the polis. As I turn to look at this second group, the clear distinction begins to fade. During the period of Alexander's successors the independence of the Greek city-state had been transformed into a polite myth of international politics. Cities preserved to a degree the original forms of their domestic constitution in exchange for their allegiance in foreign affairs to one of the Diadochi. With the coming of Rome this myth of independence was preserved, but Rome had fewer qualms about breaking up intercity leagues and replacing democratic constitutions with oligarchic ones, in order to ensure that the cities remembered that their liberty was just a diplomatic fiction.

This oversimplified portrait of the state of the polis during this period provides the necessary context for understanding why it

would be inappropriate to discuss the intellectual as a civic leader without reference to the ruling dynasts.⁷⁴ Not every local politician was selected by an outside authority (though some were), but each needed to be conscious of his *de facto* allegiances and what policies these allegiances required him to support. The surviving sources suggest that an intellectual was just as likely to be an elected official as to be a dynastic appointee. The roles assumed by intellectuals include both civic office and ambassadorial duties, the latter being particularly well suited to the rhetorical skills and international repute of men of learning.⁷⁵

To look first at those who came to represent their communities on their own merit, Posidonius of Apamea comes to mind, having served as both a magistrate on Rhodes and as an ambassador for that same community. As Posidonius will become a central figure in later chapters, here it is sufficient to observe that a man could obtain such high office in a city other than that in which he was born. One may assume that it was his status as head of the Stoic school on the island that led to his adoption by the wider community. One wonders if Posidonius' case is an exceptional or typical example of the mobility of the successful intellectual.

Dio of Alexandria is another philosopher who took up civic duties. We know little about him before his final fatal embassy,⁷⁶ other than that he was a student of Antiochus of Ascalon. After the people of Egypt ousted Ptolemy Auletes from his throne in 58BC, the dispossessed king sought restoration from the Romans. In opposition, Dio was sent out as head of an embassy of 100 Alexandrian citizens. Most of them were massacred, apparently upon arrival in Puteoli. When Dio was summoned to give a report to the Senate, one P. Asicius murdered him as well. What information can be extracted from the incident? First, Dio had enough status to be selected as the primary opposing voice to Ptolemy. While there is no suggestion of his being a rival for Ptolemy's power, he must have been an acceptable figure-head for the community, not to mention a fine public speaker. It is

⁷⁴ For further discussion, see G. Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander* (2000), 59–107.

⁷⁵ See D. Kienast, 'Presbeia', *RE* suppl. XIII. 590–6.

⁷⁶ On the context of Dio's embassy and its consequences, see R. G. Austin, *M. Tulli Ciceronis pro M. Caelio Oratio* (1960), 73–8 and 152–3.

also clear from Cicero's speech, *pro Caelio*, that the Roman community already knew Dio before his arrival as an ambassador. He is said to have shared hospitality with various families and to have been respected as a learned man. It is strange to hear praise for Dio in the mouth of Cicero, the man who defended his murderer. This in itself shows that Dio was not a mere pawn to have his reputation distorted posthumously to fit the political needs of an orator's speech: his fame was such that Cicero could not change the memory of him to serve better his rhetorical agenda. One might also think that in order to have survived the initial massacre of ambassadors, as the head he either travelled separately or was guarded.

Some men who began as representatives of their cities ended up as the agents of a foreign dynast. I am thinking specifically of Athenion of Athens.⁷⁷ I treat him elsewhere as a literary figure manipulated by Posidonius, our only source on his rise to power and eventual tyranny. Yet when we strip away Posidonius' rhetorical treatment, there is still a substantial and significant historical individual. Athenion, a Peripatetic by training, was sent out by the Athenians to Mithridates. Athens was at this point an ally of the Romans, but was apparently sounding out the Pontic king as well. During the course of the embassy Athenion became convinced that Mithridates would be the victorious party, and exerted much energy to convince his fellow citizens of the same. Upon his return to Athens, he used the endorsement of Mithridates to set himself up as tyrant of the city, and violently weeded out any pro-Roman sentiments. Here, as in the cases of Dio and Posidonius himself, Athenion's authority originated in his being selected by the people of his community. Yet even upon his return, although bolstered by the endorsement of Mithridates, he still initiates his tyranny with the consent of the masses.

Compare this model to Athenion's colleague, Apellicon of Teos. Another Peripatetic, he is more famous for his poor restoration of the library of Aristotle and Theophrastus than for his political ventures. However, Posidonius tells us that this man had won Athenian citizenship for himself, lost it again, but returned with greater

⁷⁷ While most scholarship on Athenion takes a historiographical approach, E. Badian, 'Rome, Athens and Mithridates' in D. M. Pippidi (ed.), *Assimilation et résistance* (1976), 501–21, gives a thorough treatment as political history.

authority under Athenion's regime. He then led the failed naval attack to secure Delos for Athens. Apparently none of Apellicon's authority while naval commander actually derived from the Athenian people, but instead from their tyrant. Yet we notice that he was at one point a desirable enough character to be granted citizenship. So even in the case of Apellicon, we must conclude that this scholar, disreputable as he might have become, was once welcomed as a politically active member of his adopted community.

At the other end of the spectrum are men who ruled their communities purely by the will of a dynast. It is not surprising that our primary examples of this type of ruling intellectual date to the period after the assassination of Julius Caesar, and all derive their authority from Romans contending for ultimate domination. Three of these men ruled Tarsus in succession. The events are well documented by Strabo (14.5.14), and one might imagine that similar events may have happened elsewhere as well. First there was Boethus, who is said to have derived his authority from two sources. He was put in office by Antony after he composed a poem in praise of the victory at Philippi, and he retained his authority by pandering to the masses. Strabo is full of vitriol for this poet. Then Athenodorus the Stoic returned to his native city after an extended stay in Rome.⁷⁸ He came with the endorsement of Augustus to take over the government of the city from Boethus, but he first attempted to win control through traditional means. Only once the confrontations became heated did he finally use his imperial authority to exile Boethus and his supporters. This reluctance to rely on Roman authority demonstrates how deeply entrenched was the myth of civic liberty. Nestor, an Academic who had taught Augustus' nephew Marcellus, peacefully succeeded Athenodorus. One can assume that Nestor was also given imperial approval. As Tarsus had always been home to a large intellectual community, it seems sensible to have selected such men to rule there. Moreover, the chosen men were native to the city itself,

⁷⁸ On the career of this remarkable octogenarian, see Bowersock, *AGW*, 32, 34, 39–40, esp. 39 n. 2. He seems to have come with Octavian from his conquering of Alexandria, and under his Imperial career to have also been to Sicily and Petra. Rawson, *IL*, 82 n. 70 thinks he was in Rome in 44 and wrote a resumé of Posidonius' *On Duty* for Cicero; contra Shackleton-Bailey (*Cic. Att.* 420.4 SB = 16.11.4, 425.4 SB = 16.14.4, *Fam.* 71.5 SB = 3.7.5).

which may have eased the transition to their rule. While all these men originally came to power through the actions of a Roman dynast, none would have survived for long without some local support. In the case of Boethus we hear from Strabo how unhappy many were to see him unseated.

The final example of an intellectual ruler is of another sort entirely, and the full implication of his dual status need not be addressed here. Instead, he can be mentioned to indicate yet another variation on the theme. Juba II, son of Juba I, king of Mauretania, was taken prisoner as a boy and led in the triumph over his father. He was then raised in Rome, his time as a prisoner of war apparently not leaving him with the stigma of being a freedman. He was granted Roman citizenship and became an avid scholar. His publications were numerous. Then he was returned to his father's throne.⁷⁹ Thus his authority derived from both heredity and the will of Augustus. That he was a scholar seems insignificant from the point of view of his authority. Yet is that really the case? We must recall the historical rhetoric of the 'good foreign king' as both philhellene and well-educated.⁸⁰

Two Case Studies

A synthesis of these disparate examples of intellectuals and their relative power can be best established by moving towards individuals for whom we have more testimony. The wealth of documentation on both Theophanes of Mytilene and Nicolaus of Damascus allows for a holistic illustration of the themes.

Theophanes of Mytilene, or 'The Greek'

The sheer quantity of data on Theophanes of Mytilene and his relationship with Pompey demands separate and thorough treatment.⁸¹ Ironically, given the plethora of anecdotal material, many

⁷⁹ Bowersock, AGW, 60–1, 138–9; R. MacMullen, *Romanization in the Time of Augustus* (2000), 42–6.

⁸⁰ Diod. 31.19.8 on Ariarathes and 34/5.35 on Micipsa.

⁸¹ Secondary literature on Theophanes is extensive, but the field lacks a definitive work. Note in particular, B. K. Gold, 'Pompey and Theophanes of Mytilene', *AJPhil*.

basic biographical details are missing from the historical record. A rough chronological sketch of his life now begins with a recently uncovered inscription that predates Theophanes' initial departure from Mytilene to join Pompey.⁸² It is a statue base honouring him for his services as prytanis; this confirms the assumptions that Theophanes came from the ruling classes of his polis and that he had extensive experience in local government. As the vast majority of stories about Theophanes and Pompey are set within the latter's Mithridatic campaigns (66–63/2 BC), some would like to see their relationship well established before 66. One hypothesis proposes that they became acquainted during 67, while Pompey held the command against the pirates, possibly using Mytilene as a base.⁸³ Whatever the date or catalyst for their initial meeting, it seems likely that Theophanes' status in his community was a contributory factor in the establishment of their friendship. The earliest piece of literature to mention Theophanes is Cicero's *pro Archia* (62), but Plutarch's *Life of Pompey* is the primary source of evidence on his part in the Mithridatic War and its aftermath. However, the *pro Archia* sets a useful *terminus ante quem* for Theophanes' becoming a well-known example for the Roman public of a scholarly foreigner who 'earned' his citizenship through his pro-Roman writings. Cicero paints an attractive scene of Theophanes' receipt of the Roman *tria nomina* from Pompey to the acclaim of the assembled legions. Cicero also assures his audience that Theophanes' writings bring glory not only to Pompey but also to the whole of the Roman people (*Arch.* 24). The first concrete evidence for his presence in Rome comes in April 59 BC; the information comes from one of Cicero's letters to Atticus (25 SB = 2.5). Already Theophanes is well entrenched in internal politics;

106 (1985), 312–27, and her *Literary Patronage in Greece and Rome* (1987), 87–107. The detailed synthesis of previous scholarship on the physical evidence in D. Salzmann, 'Cn. Pompeius Theophanes. Ein Benennungsvorschlag zu einem Porträt in Mytilene', *MDAI(R)* 92 (1985), 245–60, needs only V. I. Anastasiadis and G. A. Souris, 'Theophanes of Mytilene: A New Inscription to his Early Career', *Chiron* 22 (1992), 377–83 to provide a full overview.

⁸² V. I. Anastasiadis and G. A. Souris, op. cit., 377–83.

⁸³ Anderson, *Pompey*, 35. Mytilene's history during the Mithridatic wars was not particularly pro-Roman; Diodorus (37.27) describes how its people defected to the king and surrendered Aquillius, a general who was receiving medical treatment on the island (c.89 BC).

Cicero thinks an offer for a place on the embassy to Alexandria may be delivered by him. Of course he may have arrived in the city much earlier, possibly with Pompey in 62. Many have thought that he may have had some peripheral role in the so-called 'First Triumvirate' in 60, that possibly being the origin of his irregular adoption of another naturalized Roman, the Spaniard Balbus.⁸⁴ His activities between 59 and 51 are obscure, with two small exceptions. A letter of later date (49) suggests that in 58 he gave advice to Atticus on how Cicero could avoid exile.⁸⁵ And sometime shortly after 58 he is said to have dissuaded Pompey from accepting an assignment to reinstate Ptolemy Auletes. He then resurfaces during the saga of Pompey's last days. Even with these sketchy and sporadic windows into Theophanes' career, we have substantial and diverse information as to his authority, derived from official posts, his relationship with Pompey, and his interactions with other Romans.

As has already been made clear, we have only one inscription to guide us as to Theophanes' position in Mytilene, or elsewhere, before his relationship with Pompey. Strabo does refer to him rather ambiguously as a 'statesman' (πολιτικός 13.2.3). From a more literary perspective, one might see this label as a counterweight to his primary designation as 'historian'. As mentioned above, the Roman system of valuation rated the usefulness of an intellectual higher than any abstract dedication to theory: service to the state should be the ultimate goal of any member of the elite. It is no surprise to find such a sentiment internalized by a Greek working under Roman influence in the age of Tiberius. The only other office Theophanes is actually known to have held was an appointment as *praefectus fabrum* in Pompey's camp. This post is often inaccurately translated, 'chief of the engineers'; a more apt description might be 'aide-de-camp'.⁸⁶ During the Late Republic a remarkable number of naturalized citizens are known to have held this post.⁸⁷ One might speculate that

⁸⁴ Anderson, *Pompey*, 36–7 and Laqueur, 'Theophanes' in *RE*.

⁸⁵ *Att.* 162.5 SB = 8.12.5; Anderson, *Pompey*, 38 n. 34, and Shackleton Bailey, *Comm.*

⁸⁶ R. Syme, 'Who was Vedius Pollio?', *JRS* 51 (1961), 27, who suggests 'chief of staff'.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*; holders of the post of particular interest are Volumnius Eutrapelus under Antony in 43 BC (*Nep. Att.* 12), Cornelius Balbus, and Mamurra of Formiae (see *Rom. Rev.*, 71 and 355), and Cicero's Vibius, the Sicilian (*Plut. Vit. Cic.* 32).

the appointment of this type of individual was because their loyalty to their patron was more assured than was that of men seeking to enhance their own careers in Roman government. While holding this position Theophanes spoke successfully on behalf of Pompey and his cause to reassure the Rhodians after the loss of their fleet (Plut. *Vit. Cic.* 38.4).

So Theophanes seems to have abandoned his official, and successful, career within the traditional sphere of the Greek polis to enter the world of the dynasts, becoming wholly dependent on Pompey for his authority. Yet as pointed out previously, authority from a dynast can be manifested in two separate ways. Thus far we have seen mostly men who were deputized by autocrats, officially or unofficially. Clearly Theophanes regularly acted as Pompey's agent, but he is also a remarkable illustration of an intellectual who was able to direct the thoughts and actions of his patron.

The chronologically earliest evidence for such influence is the grant of 'freedom' to Mytilene by Pompey, which, according to Plutarch, was for Theophanes' sake (63/2 BC; *Vit. Pomp.* 42). Of course, generosity with diplomatic fictions comes easily to a victorious general, even if there were later unforeseen difficulties in the ratification of Pompey's eastern settlement. The report of this grant falls within a whole chapter dedicated to Pompey's munificence towards intellectual pursuits as he toured the east following the Mithridatic War. While still in Mytilene, Pompey listened to the 'traditional' poetic contest there, but the only subject matter was his own exploits. He is also said to have taken note of the plan of their theatre to use as the model for his own in Rome.⁸⁸ Then at Rhodes he is said to have listened to 'all the sophists' and to have given each a

⁸⁸ For the historicity of this, see the discussion in Steinby, *Lexicon* (iv.36) on the Theatre of Pompey and Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 42 by P. Gros. He begins by noting that the historical veracity of Plutarch's statement cannot be checked archaeologically because no remains of Mytilene's theatre have yet been found, and continues with the following observation (my translation): 'The tendency today is to look for the immediate antecedents for the theatre of Pompey and the temple which surmounts it in the Latin sanctuaries of the Late Republic, but these themselves are the direct descendants of the Hellenistic foundations in the Greek East and particularly those at Pergamon... So Plutarch's notice contains a reflection of the historical truth, even if it may not be trusted in its detail.'

talent.⁸⁹ 'Posidonius also published the lecture which he delivered before him against the rhetor Hermagoras, in opposition to him on General Enquiry.'⁹⁰ One wonders if Plutarch means to categorize Posidonius among the sophists who took the talent from Pompey; the use of the term 'philosophers' for the same type of individual at Pompey's next stop suggests simply a casual use of language on the part of Plutarch. At Athens, he did likewise, and in addition he gave the city 50 talents to aid in rebuilding after the destruction of Sulla's earlier sack of the city.⁹¹ Set in this context, the liberation of Mytilene looks like part of a systematic programme of benefaction to intellectual individuals and communities. Of course such patronage had always been the domain of Hellenistic dynasts, but on this scale such benefactions begin to seem 'patronizing', almost an assertion of control. The power structure is clearly visible in the report that the traditional festival at Mytilene drastically modified its programme so as to present the Roman with a continuous series of panegyrics.

Has this perspective stripped Theophanes of his presumed influence in the liberation of his city? Ancient authors seem to have thought otherwise: Strabo discusses the glory he conferred on Mytilene and other Greek communities (13.2.3), and Tacitus alludes to posthumous divine honours (*Ann.* 6.18.5). While neither directly refers to Mytilene's liberation, it is just the sort of event that could earn such civic commendation. Far more concrete is the evidence offered by the epigraphic record. The earlier of the two texts for consideration is the most explicit regarding the means by which liberation was granted.⁹² Theophanes is honoured as the one who

⁸⁹ This and the similar generosity to Athens is reminiscent of the acts of the Hellenistic monarchs; for example, Polybius gives an extended condemnation of the Rhodians when they accepted 280,000 medimni of corn from Eumenes, with the profits from the grain to be dedicated to the fees of tutors and schoolmasters = *παιδευταῖς καὶ διδασκάλοις* (162 BC; 31.31). Walbank's commentary on this passage sets it amongst many similar benefactions.

⁹⁰ Pos. T39 E-K = F43 E-K = T8b Jac. = Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 42.5.

⁹¹ Pompey likewise restored the native city of his freedman, Demetrius of Gadara; on Pompey's relationship with Demetrius, see Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 40; for the restoration, Jos. *BJ* 1.155 and *AJ* 14.74f.

⁹² This statue base, which was found in Istanbul, cannot unfortunately be taken as evidence of widespread honours for Theophanes in the Greek world. L. Robert, 'Théophanes de Mytilène à Constantinople', *CR Acad. Inscr.* (1969), 42-64, argues on the basis of the Aeolian dialect and the lack of ethnic attached to the subject, such

recovered the city and territory and reestablished the temples and rites, but all this he received from the Romans, who are identified as 'common benefactors'. The lack of direct mention of Pompey and this particular formulaic epithet suggest that the author of the text wanted to distinguish the newly dominant power from previous eastern dynasties, such as the recently defeated Mithridates.⁹³ Yet the very inclusion of the Romans sets up a chain of power, in which the benefactor, Theophanes, is shown as distinct and inferior to Roman authority.⁹⁴ The other statue base nicely links the testimony of Plutarch and Tacitus. This particular base was designed to display three statues and has three corresponding texts. From left to right they are labelled, Pompey, Theophanes, and Potamon. Each of the three men is represented as a 'saviour and benefactor', and in addition as 'founder', 'second founder', and 'founder of the city' respectively. Even more illuminating is that Theophanes is identified as 'Zeus the Patriotic Liberator' (Διὸν Ἐλευθερίω Φιλοπάτριδι)—the link between divinity and liberation becomes explicit. This elevation to divine status is given further confirmation by a very unusual pseudo-autonomous issue of bronze coins, depicting 'The divine Theophanes' (ΘΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ ΘΕΟΣ) on the obverse.⁹⁵ It has rightly been suggested that these divine honours could not have been publicly proclaimed before his death or after the expression of imperial hostility towards his descendants in AD 33 (Tac. *Ann.* 6.18). It is also unlikely that they postdate the death of Augustus, when most non-imperial cults were abandoned. One possible occasion for the minting might have been his son's procuratorship in Asia at the appoint-

as 'the Mytilenean', that this block and its corresponding statue were probably transferred from Lesbos to Constantinople in the late antique period.

⁹³ For discussion of the epithet and its significance, see A. Erskine, 'The Romans as Common Benefactors', *Historia* 43.1 (1994), 70–87. He notes that it is most common in inscriptions in which the Romans are not the primary subject, but instead act as an enabling force (p. 76).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 79: 'The local benefactor may gain prestige from this public association with the Romans, but he is also being placed in a sort of hierarchy of benefactors. . . . If the phrase is understood in this way, we have a shift from the Romans as benefactors to the Romans as a superior power. Indeed an unequal relationship is implicit in the very idea of the benefactor.'

⁹⁵ The reverse shows ΘΕΑ ΑΡΧΕΛΑΜΙΣ who is presumed to be his wife, as is suggested by other husband and wife combinations on the coinage of Mytilene, cf. *RPC* 1.1, no. 2347.

ment of Augustus (c. AD 5).⁹⁶ While the coins do not explicitly link Theophanes' apotheosis to his liberation of the city, the pseudo-autonomy is a solid reminder of Pompey's benefaction to Mytilene. There is also a second issue depicting Theophanes, without divine epithet, which is stylistically dated to the Severan period. Although this second issue seems far smaller than the first, with only nine surviving specimens, all struck with the same pair of dies, it is remarkable that his memory lasted so long, surviving even imperial persecution. It seems as if Theophanes' gamble with his political career paid off. The likelihood that he would have achieved such lasting fame and recognition in his homeland, if he had remained in local politics, seems small indeed.

The other evidence for Theophanes' influence over Pompey is, as a whole, convincing, though no one piece is without some difficulty in interpretation. Caesar records how he sent Vibullius to approach Theophanes along with two others as the closest advisers to Pompey (*B. Civ.* 3.18). While Vibullius made little headway in his negotiations, it is a clear indication that Caesar perceived Theophanes to be part of Pompey's inner circle of counsellors, which included Libo and another Roman historian, L. Lucceius. Cicero also acknowledged the influence Theophanes might hold; we have several examples of his seeking Theophanes' advice. In March of 49 Cicero considers him an essential member of the group on whom their (presumably Roman) hopes of salvation rest (*Att.* 178.4 SB = 9.11.4). However, a comment in an earlier letter to Atticus sent from Athens as Cicero journeyed to Cilicia in 51 leads to some confusion. 'I too think Pompey is determined to go to Spain, as you say Varro says. I am not at all in favour of his doing so and indeed I had no difficulty in persuading Theophanes that the policy of staying put is as good as any. So the Greek will exert his influence to which Pompey much defers.'⁹⁷ Some have simply accepted the meaning of the text at face value, but others detect Ciceronian sarcasm.⁹⁸ Some vague similarity can be found

⁹⁶ *RPC* 1.1, no. 2342, with discussion on 396–7, and D. Salzmann, 'Cn. Pompeius Theophanes. Ein Benennungsvorschlag zu einem Porträt in Mytilene', *MDAI(R)* 92 (1985), 245–60.

⁹⁷ *Att.* 104.3 SB = 5.11.3, 6 July 51; translation by Shackleton Bailey.

⁹⁸ Anderson, *Pompey*, 38 is of the former opinion; Shackleton Bailey's commentary on the passage supports the latter.

with another letter addressed to Atticus in which he ironically refers to himself taking sound political counsel, when the opposite is clearly true (177.5 SB = 9.10.5). The use of Theophanes' ethnic as the subject of the final sentence seems particularly derisive, as does the preceding dismissive statement as to the ease with which Cicero convinced him of his own point of view. However, even if there is a double meaning in this statement, it cannot be assumed that the joke turns on Theophanes' influence. It is as likely an assumption that Cicero is frustrated by a foreigner who just seems to tell each man what he wants to hear. The historical reality cannot be recovered, but the passage would not have been written if Theophanes were not within Pompey's inner circle of advisers.

Plutarch on balance is too biased against the character of Theophanes to be trusted without caution, but his testimony is not without insight into the intellectual's influence on Pompey. The biographer actually attempts to debunk an earlier literary tradition regarding a particular moment in their relationship where Theophanes is supposed to have held the upper hand. The incident is set around a proposal of a tribune of the plebs that Pompey go to Alexandria without an army and only two lictors to try to reinstate the recently deposed Ptolemy Auletes (c. 58 BC). Apparently, the Senate had refused the suggestion, saying that it was too dangerous, even though Pompey is said to have found it favourable. Plutarch goes on:

And Timagenes actually says that Ptolemy left home without sufficient reason and under no necessity, and that his abandonment of Egypt was owing to the persuasions of Theophanes, who was aiming to give Pompey profitable occupation in the holding of a new command. But this is not made credible by the baseness of Theophanes as much as it is made incredible by the nature of Pompey, in which ambition was not of such a mean and base order.⁹⁹

Whether Theophanes could influence the politics of Ptolemaic Egypt is impossible to tell, but Plutarch's reaction clearly indicates his own authorial bias. He dismisses Theophanes' possible role because it conflicts with his conception of Pompey. At the end of the biography, however, he finds a suitable role for the distasteful intellectual. Plutarch casts Theophanes as the agent of fate who convinces

⁹⁹ Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 49.6–7; translation taken from B. Perrin in the Loeb.

Pompey of the advantage of Egypt as a base for rebuilding strength rather than Parthia (*Vit. Pomp.* 76.5–6). While this oration in indirect speech and its dreadful consequences fit well with Plutarch's overall vilification of Theophanes, he is also trying to show Pompey's demise as inevitable: 'if indeed it was any longer Pompey's calculation, and not instead some spirit which guided him down that road'.¹⁰⁰ Thus reads his final sentence. The veracity of Plutarch's testimony with regard to Theophanes' role in the final decision to journey to Egypt is also called into question by a similar oration which Lucan places in the mouth of the ex-consul Lentulus (8.327 ff.).

Beyond Pompey himself, there is also ample evidence of Theophanes' wider sphere of influence. We have already seen suggestions that he could influence benefactions in the Hellenistic East, and his voice may have even carried weight in certain dynastic courts and polis assemblies, such as Ptolemaic Alexandria and Rhodes. What about Roman oligarchic society? Rome had yet to become fully autocratic, and the holding of power in the capital city still meant controlling a network of the elite. Again, we must depend on the letters of Cicero. Two separate roles seem to have been played by Theophanes within Roman politics. On the one hand, he offers his advice, and on occasion it was sought out; on the other, he was an agent of behind-the-scenes negotiations and manoeuvrings.

Most of the advice known to have been delivered by him to Cicero relates directly to Pompey, but not all, for he is also said to have suggested a means by which Cicero could avoid exile.¹⁰¹ We know that on one occasion Cicero actually sought out Theophanes' counsel through Atticus, asking for information on how Pompey was disposed toward himself and also for a 'prescription' as to his own future action (37.3 SB = 2.17.3). On the other two occasions there is no indication who approached whom. However, the more important question in respect of Theophanes' personal authority is whether Cicero followed his counsels. The evidence is slim. Nothing survives as to Cicero's response to the 'prescription' (37.3 SB = 2.17.3). He did not heed the advice that might have helped him avoid exile, but

¹⁰⁰ Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 76.6; translation taken from B. Perrin in the Loeb.

¹⁰¹ On Pompey, see *Att.* 37.3 SB = 2.17.3 and 167.3 SB = 9.1.3; on exile, see 162.5 SB = 8.12.5.

nine years later he bemoans that fact (162.5 SB = 8.12.5). He does in the end abandon Italy and enter Pompey's camp, thus following Theophanes' counsel (167.3 SB = 9.1.3), but many factors seem to have contributed to that decision.

The direct evidence for Theophanes' participation in behind-the-scenes politics comes from only two letters, and his exact role is far from obvious. As already mentioned, Cicero expected an offer of joining an embassy to Ptolemy Auletes to come to him from Theophanes through Atticus (25 SB = 2.5, Apr. 59). This association of the Mytilenean with Egyptian politics brings to mind Timagenes' suggestion that Auletes left Alexandria at Theophanes' urging. How positions in the embassy could be Theophanes' for the offering is unknown, but to see Pompey behind it is not implausible. To rely again on Plutarch's evidence, just a year later it was proposed that Pompey lead a diplomatic mission to Egypt. That he may have orchestrated or even considered heading one the previous year is easy to believe.

The other incident is even more shadowy, and occurs within the same month. Atticus refused to commit the information to writing, and thus makes Cicero wait until their next meeting to hear about a particularly salacious conversation between Theophanes and Memmius (30 SB = 2.12, 19 Apr. 59). One scholar in trying to make sense of this finds significance in the incident's taking place while Memmius is running for the praetorship, and in Memmius' making a vitriolic attack on Caesar, but not Pompey (a relative of Memmius).¹⁰² Whether or not there is any connection between the attack and the conversation, it does put Memmius fully within the circle of political allies in which Theophanes would operate. Of more significance is the fact that this conversation apparently begins to indicate that Theophanes is as interested in Roman domestic politics as in Eastern affairs. His advice the next year to Cicero on his impending exile suggests the same.

How did Theophanes come to be a force in internal Roman politics? Of course, the only definite answers rest with Pompey, but a fairly clear picture can be presented. Cicero's letters show that he felt the Mytilenean to be more approachable than the general

¹⁰² Anderson, *Pompey*, 37.

himself.¹⁰³ Theophanes offered the Romans a back door to the commander's attention, of which they were quick to take advantage. Consider again Caesar's decision to try to win Pompey's surrender through his counsellors, especially Theophanes (*B Civ.* 3.18). It is possible that his accessibility was in part created by his status as a foreign intellectual. Cicero asks Atticus to make his inquiries as a kinsman (37.3 SB = 2.17). As there is no evidence for any familial connections between Atticus and Rome's newest citizen, the passage suggests that Cicero is using metaphorical language and is referring to Atticus' philhellenic status. This fits the overall jocularity of the letter—earlier he had nicknamed Pompey, 'Arabarches' or 'Arabian Prince'.¹⁰⁴ Rather inventively, it has been suggested that Cicero was inspired to use the term because he had recently been reading Theophanes' account of Pompey's eastern exploits.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, such fanciful connections cannot be substantiated.

Theophanes was clearly an intellectual whose writings had a political dimension. One of the most illuminating testimonia comes from Plutarch, whom we have learned to question for his literary objectives. It is also a cardinal rule of dealing with *reliquiae* to beware of polemic.¹⁰⁶ Thus the following passage must be treated with caution, but cannot be discounted:

Moreover, Theophanes says there was found here [among the private documents of Mithridates in the fortress of Caenum] an address of Rutilius, which incited the king to the massacre of the Romans in Asia. But most people rightly conjecture that this was a malicious invention on the part of Theophanes, perhaps because he hated Rutilius, who was wholly unlike himself, but probably also to please Pompey, whose father had been represented as an utter wretch by Rutilius in his Histories.¹⁰⁷

The veracity of this claim about Rutilius' actions must be regarded as impossible to establish. However, that Theophanes had access to some of Mithridates' papers is easily believable, as is the idea that he would have emphasized the authority of his historical account by

¹⁰³ *Att.* 104 SB = 5.11 and 37.3 SB = 2.17.3.

¹⁰⁴ The true meaning of this Egyptian title is unknown, but Shackleton Bailey assumes it is used just because it has a nice oriental ring (cf. *Juv.* 1.130).

¹⁰⁵ R. Laqueur in *RE* XL. 2127.

¹⁰⁶ P. A. Brunt, 'On Fragments and Epitomes', *CQ* 30 (1980), 477–94.

¹⁰⁷ *Plut. Vit. Pomp.* 37; translation taken from B. Perrin in the Loeb.

reference to such access. Here, we see the advantage gained by the intellectual in the dynast's entourage. Yet Plutarch goes on to speculate about intentional falsification of the historical record, or at least the public perception of such intent. Two motivations are given credit as being plausible explanations: personal animosity and defence of a patron and his family. Moreover, the attack to which Theophanes may be responding is the work of yet another historian. The attention gained by a historical work is an advantage gained by the statesman through the intellectual.

Theophanes, however, was not just Pompey's puppet. When that great general fell, the intellectual continued to move in Roman circles. Cicero mentions to Atticus that Theophanes, having been forgiven by Caesar and allowed to enter Italy, was seeking his company to discuss unspecified personal matters affecting both himself and Cicero (396.1 SB = 15.19.1, 16–19 June 44). Theophanes' son, Marcus Pompeius Macer, following the intellectual model of his father, continued to find favour under the emperors.¹⁰⁸ Suetonius tells us he was in charge of the Imperial Libraries in his early career (*Jul.* 56.7) and Strabo reports that he held an equestrian procuratorship in Asia under Augustus and was a close friend of Tiberius (618). How is this possible? We have already noted his accessibility, which allowed him to build networks beyond Pompey: consider his adoption of Balbus. This situation of a Lesbian adopting a Spaniard outraged Cicero in private (*Att.* 130.6 SB = 7.7.6; 19 Dec. 50). Yet out of apparent political necessity, Cicero defended the adoption, as part of his overall defence of Balbus' enfranchisement (*Balb.* 57).¹⁰⁹ This 'familial' link with the Caesarian circle may have saved Theophanes in the end.¹¹⁰ Notably, the adoption took place long before

¹⁰⁸ On Macer's own intellectual circle, see Ovid, *Pont.* 2.10.21 and Tibullus 2.6.

¹⁰⁹ Cicero's argument is lost on the modern audience: he says the adoption served no function other than allowing Balbus to inherit from his own relatives. Interestingly, in a speech so similar to the theme of *pro Archia*, Theophanes' own enfranchisement is noticeably absent from the numerous examples of enfranchisements.

¹¹⁰ Many have noted the biographical similarities between Theophanes and Balbus; B. K. Gold, 'Pompey and Theophanes of Mytilene', *AJPhil.* 106 (1985), 322–4, offers a comparative discussion. One wonders if it represents some foresight on the part of each that one of their respective patrons would eventually win in a conflict against the other, and that a 'familial' connection with the opposing party could be a saving grace. If the tables had been turned, Theophanes may have proven a protective 'father' to Balbus.

Pompey's end, at least pre-56 BC. Being 'in the front line' also allowed him to see changes in the political storm. When Vibullius approached him on behalf of Caesar, there is no reason why he could not have begun looking after his own interests more carefully. According to the unreliable Plutarch, he even advised Pompey to take second place and to trust Caesar's clemency (*Vit. Pomp.* 76.5–6). In 62 Cicero assured his audience that Theophanes deserved his citizenship because of his panegyrics on Rome, specifically because they did not glorify a single individual but instead the whole Republic (*Arch.* 24). Perhaps, there is a glimmer of truth in Cicero's hyperbole. Part of Theophanes' recipe for success could have been to keep the tone of his literary composition geared towards a more general audience.

Before leaving Theophanes, some consideration should be given to the nature of our evidence: his reception and representation by contemporaries and later writers. Plutarch and Cicero have had by far the loudest voices in this discussion, but it may be possible to balance out their presentations with a few stray comments from elsewhere. Tacitus himself seems to have no bias against Theophanes, but, as already mentioned, reports that his great-grandchildren were ruined because of his association with Pompey (*Ann.* 6.18.5). Beyond Pompey, it is also held against his family that 'Greek flattery' gave him divine honours. This is reminiscent of the tone and language used in relation to Theophanes in Cicero's private letters; he is constantly being identified as 'the Greek' and linked with other Greeks.¹¹¹ Note that it is not his city or his island with which he is associated, although such ethnic labels would seem most natural. Plutarch in his biography of Cicero quotes a very similar 'joke' with regard to Theophanes. This is set in Pompey's camp when Theophanes is aide-de-camp and has just pacified the Rhodians, who have lost their fleet. '“How great,” he said, “it is to have a Greek as leader”' (Plut. *Vit. Cic.* 38.4). However unfunny this seems to the modern reader, it may still be possible to decode the humour and some of the other uses of 'Greek' as a pejorative label. During the second and first centuries BC, as the Romans came into intimate contact with the Hellenistic world, that world had been flooded with

¹¹¹ *Att.* 104 SB = 5.11 and 178.3–4 SB = 9.11.3–4.

rhetoric on 'pan-Hellenism' from the time of Alexander and his successors onwards, and in some areas even earlier. In many ways Theophanes was the model pan-Hellenist. He was the well-lettered polis citizen who worked easily with dynasts from all areas, always pleasing the ruling state, but never losing his essential ethnic identity. Cicero praises him in public, but remains snide in private. His ethnic labels poke fun at a yes-man more familiar with words than weapons, the foreigner who dares to be Roman. Contrast this with Strabo, a fellow Greek, who has nothing but admiration for the man. Yet even Strabo cannot escape the generalized ethnic label for the man who wears it so well, 'the most illustrious of all the Greeks'.

Nicolaus of Damascus

Nicolaus, although he did not perform great deeds on his own behalf, was a more distinguished man through his words on behalf of others. (Nic. T14).

The testimony on Theophanes and his power base is particularly convincing because of the diversity of sources – contemporary writings, later historical narratives, epigraphic honours, and numismatic commemoration. Moreover, his power base is particularly impressive in that it was derived from the dominant Romans of the period, but was not limited to a single individual or even a geographical region. Thus it acts as a guidepost for credibility when turning towards another historian, one whose writings in part survive to be analysed. Nicolaus of Damascus has, like Theophanes, a rich collection of testimonia as well as an extensive range of fragments from which to reconstruct his career and relationships.¹¹² However, the difficulty arises in the fact that our information on Nicolaus' life and political connections derives nearly completely from his own writings. Of course there are distinct advantages in having a self-reporting source: for example, certain information on family origins and education is far more extensive. But there are obvious problems as well. The motivations for autobiography seem closely tied to a desire for self-glorification.

¹¹² Jacoby's collection of the testimony and fragments with commentary is still the standard work; R. Laqueur's article in the *RE* is still useful; the most thorough historical overview is given by B. Z. Wacholder, *Nicolaus of Damascus* (1962).

While Nicolaus clearly had contacts with the Romans, he was still based within an eastern client-kingdom and worked exclusively under royal patronage. This must have serious implications for our assessment of his control over his own actions and his influence with others.

The information on his education and family derives predominantly from the *Suda* entries for himself and his father, Antipater.¹¹³ According to Jacoby, these are fragments of the autobiography. Unusually, Stratonike, Nicolaus' mother, is given attention in a lexicographical entry on her husband, Antipater, and they are said to share certain virtues. They were wealthy, yet preferred a moderate lifestyle. His father acted as a patron of individual fellow citizens and of the city as a whole. His patronage, for which he won honours and powers, is typified by his advocacy and arbitration (F131). This same type of behaviour is evident in the son. Nicolaus was born at Damascus in approximately 63 BC, the year the temple fell in Jerusalem and Syria also came under Roman rule.¹¹⁴ Thus he never knew his homeland under the old regime, but would have grown up among many individuals who did remember and who may have discussed the changes with him. While we have no idea what he said about the capture of his own city, the seizure of the Temple was graphically described in his history (F98). He had a brother Ptolemaios, but not much is known about him, except that he also held a most honoured position in Herod's court (T8).

During the struggle for succession among Herod's heirs, the brothers backed different princes. It is questionable how one should interpret this lack of unity at a crucial crossroads not only for the governance of the kingdom, but also for the brothers' own patronage. One line of thinking would suggest that Nicolaus' apparent silence about his brother may be motivated by some form of sibling rivalry, not because his brother was in fact any less historically significant than himself. Another line would suggest that our lack of information on Ptolemaios is an accident of survival, and that their division over the succession could have been a means of diversifying

¹¹³ The value of the *Suda* is discussed at length in the next chapter.

¹¹⁴ F136.8 says he was about 60 during the struggle for succession after Herod, 4 BC.

the family's options. Neither theory can be substantiated with the available evidence.

The family was long remembered in their home city of Damascus, but with Nicolaus, not Antipater, credited as the progenitor (T2, early 7th century). Thus it seems safe to say that Nicolaus came from a family which valued rhetorical skill as a means to achieve power, and which was successful enough to provide Nicolaus and his brother with entry into the local dynastic power centres. The importance of family in attaining a position of power has been poorly attested among intellectuals thus far, but should not be discounted. Obviously, for dynastic powers, be they the successors to Alexander or members of the Roman aristocracy, political influence was directly linked to family membership. As intellectuals are inevitably members of the elite with substantial disposable income, it is a relatively safe assumption that a substantial number derived their wealth from familial resources and inheritance. Yet wealth is not necessarily the primary benefit to be gained from one's ancestry. Status could equally be obtained from the reputation of one's progenitors. Nicolaus' glorification of his parents' civic status can be compared with Pompeius Trogus' decision to include a record of his family's services to the Roman state, in which he conceptualizes his own status by recording the authority held by his relatives in the Roman system (Trog. 43.5.11–12).

Returning to Nicolaus, credit is given to his father for nurturing his early development (F132.1). This is also intimated by the metaphor employed by Nicolaus in respect of his views on education, namely that learning resembles a journey and the culmination of that journey is the arrival at one's paternal estate. The testimony on the extent of his studies sounds somewhat exaggerated: 'overlooking no aspect of grammar', 'all of poetry', 'he created famous tragedies and comedies' before he came of age, rhetoric, music, mathematics, and the 'whole of philosophy' (F132.1). Finally, after this youthful education comes the testimony that he became zealous for Aristotle, the diversity of learning, and its practicality for all stages of life. This attitude towards learning is confirmed by his many works, and we have some idea as to the authors who might have comprised his continuing education thanks to a modern compilation of those

Greek publications known to have been in Herod's library, to which Nicolaus had access.¹¹⁵

Nicolaus' career path serves as a reminder that there were no 'professional' historians in the ancient world: such labour was not in itself profitable. Men who wrote such texts and related genres were of independent means or sponsored by other wealthy men, and often they were or had been occupied primarily in another discipline such as politics, philosophy, or education.¹¹⁶ What, then, enabled Nicolaus to write the longest universal history known to have been composed in the ancient world, a labour he himself describes as Herculean, and on top of this many other works: a biography of Caesar Augustus, an autobiography,¹¹⁷ an ethnography, and numerous philosophical treatises? The answer is fairly obvious, especially as we have much testimony on the matter—Herod's patronage. Yet what was the nature of this patronage, and what did it require of Nicolaus? Posidonius serves as proof that connections with powerful men did not always imply an unequal relationship. Posidonius had no trouble denying Cicero's request that he write an account of his consulship; the philosopher was not a kept man. Nicolaus seemed to have had no such freedom, which in turn creates real difficulties for the modern scholar attempting to interpret the ideas expressed in his writing.

The earliest date at which we know Nicolaus to be engaged in political circles finds him in a relatively lowly position in a very prestigious court. He is said to have taught the children of Antony

¹¹⁵ B. Z. Wacholder, 'Appendix: Greek Authors in Herod's Library', *Nicolaus of Damascus* (1962), 81–6.

¹¹⁶ Cf. A. Momigliano, 'The Historians of the Classical World and their Audiences: some suggestions', *ASNP* 7 (1978), 59–75 [= Momigliano, *Sesto contributo*, 361–76].

¹¹⁷ This is the earliest Greek autobiography known to have been written. Holding to a degree of scepticism, some scholars have wanted to see the 'autobiographical' fragments as derived from the latter books of the universal history; so, J. M. Alonso-Núñez, 'Die Weltgeschichte des Nikolaos von Damaskos', *Sstor* 27 (1995), 5. However, many pieces of evidence speak against this. The *Suda* lists each as a separate publication. One of the longer fragments of the autobiography (F136) summarizes with great brevity the very important years for Herod's court of 7–4 BC, only highlighting Nicolaus' role in events, as if assuming that the audience already knows the context. Most telling is the fact that the autobiographical fragments come before the universal history in the Constantinian excerpts. If they were in fact part of the universal history they would chronologically have been located in the very last books, as the extractors methodically recorded the fragments from single works in order.

and Cleopatra; the testimony comes from a seventh-century source and is unsupported elsewhere (T2). It would not be wise to base any complex argument on what could easily be an erroneous attempt by a late author to present Nicolaus with wider political connections than he actually had. As discussed above, the status of educators, especially those in charge of young children, was minimal, and they often had a poor reputation. Parents, even wealthy ones, might leave this responsibility to slaves or freedmen. Cleopatra's oldest son, Caesarion, was sixteen when he died following Octavian's seizure of Alexandria. Antony had older children by other women, some of whom did spend time with him in Egypt, but his children by Cleopatra were much younger. That Nicolaus, a man of considerable intellectual status, should have served in such a capacity can be explained in two ways. He would have been just about thirty at the time of the Battle of Actium, and Antony and Cleopatra were famous for their extravagance, which could easily have led to the recruitment of a reputable young philosopher as an instructor for their children. So while this position might not have been as demeaning as some, we still find him in an intellectual role which would have required him to bow to the wishes of his employers. Nicolaus would have been horrified to think that he could be remembered in this way; he tried to make it clear that he did not believe in using education for profiteering (Nic. F132.2). His attitudes reflect the more general disdain for the applied arts as opposed to the liberal arts.

There is no evidence as to when Nicolaus became part of Herod's court. It could have been before 32 BC—we need not assume Nicolaus stayed in Alexandria to the bitter end—or as late as 15 BC, right before he accompanied Herod with Agrippa around Ionia (T4; F81, F134, F142). The only clue as to Nicolaus' whereabouts before 14 BC is his statement that he happened to meet the Indian ambassadors to Augustus in Antioch (F100; cf. Dio Cass. 54.9.8–10), which can be dated to 20 BC. This cannot be taken as evidence that Nicolaus was an associate of either Augustus or Herod at this time; the wording makes it clear that Nicolaus did not intend to meet the embassy and was not acting in any official capacity. On the other hand, the passage does suggest that he came to know the business of the ambassadors, implying that he had some status at this time, either derived from a patron or on his own account. As Nicolaus' position with Herod in

14 BC seems very firmly established, we might assume that it began at least a few years before.

When the curtain opens on Nicolaus' life with Herod, we find him devotedly fulfilling the king's desires. True, he is called a 'friend' of the king and is shown giving advice, but the term 'friend' is used ambiguously both among Romans and to denote the attendants of Eastern kings, and his advice is not always followed.¹¹⁸ In nearly all the major events in which Nicolaus participated, he did so on Herod's behalf. Consider each of his three known trips to Rome: first in 12 BC in Herod's entourage, then in 8 BC to appease Augustus after Herod's unauthorized invasion of Arabia, and finally in 4 BC to attempt to have Herod's chosen heir succeed him.¹¹⁹ His famous advocacy on behalf of the Ionian Jews before Agrippa was only offered upon the request of Herod.¹²⁰ He is happy to turn against the Jews ten years later to dismiss their claims as to the unjust and violent rule of Herod and his successor-to-be, Archelaus (T9; F136.10). Outside the political sphere, even Nicolaus' intellectual pursuits were directed by the whims of Herod (F135). He excuses Herod's lack of interest in philosophy—not an easy thing for a dedicated Peripatetic to do. He tried to teach the king rhetoric, echoing the late testimonium which calls him the king's *παιδευτής* (T2). Finally, it was the king's request that led to the composition of the *Universal History*. This sequence of intellectual pursuits mimics the hierarchy of genre. Note that rhetoric is the second art, after Philosophy, which Nicolaus attempts to teach Herod. When that fails, only then does he turn to history. Not only the history, but also the ethnography, were composed with Herod stated to be the intended audience (T13). Although it has been shown that polemical

¹¹⁸ For Nicolaus being called a friend of the king, see T4; for both friend and advisor, see T7. For advice not followed regarding the fate of the sons of Mariamme, see T6 and F136.3. On the 'friends' of Eastern kings, cf. Posidonius F57 E–K = F5 Jac.

¹¹⁹ F135, T5, and T8 with F136.8ff. respectively.

¹²⁰ T4, F81, F142. These all come from Joseph. *AJ*. However, F81 comes four books before two other reliquiae. Only this one states that it uses Nicolaus as a source, but it seems likely that all three so derive. Because of the summary nature of F81, it fails to preserve the detail from T4 that Nicolaus undertook the cause of the Jews on behalf of Herod, not of his own initiative. This serves as a good reminder of the possible importance of missing information in reliquiae.

passages produce the most unreliable fragments,¹²¹ it is very difficult not to believe Josephus' criticisms. He claims that Nicolaus was forced to cover up Herod's errors in his history, the cruel treatment of his family and the disturbing of Jewish holy sites (T12, F101–2), but even worse, he had to falsify Herod's ancestry in his writing to please the king (F96). Josephus is in fact very forgiving of his source's digression from the full truth, explaining that he was not like most historians, but instead composed under the auspices of another man. This type of identification is seen much later in a Byzantine interpretation of Nicolaus' position as that of Herod's chronicler (T3).

Even though it seems beyond doubt that Nicolaus led his life subservient to Herod, and possibly to others, he himself would have posterity believe that this in no way compromised his principles. I am sure that he would have argued that his reversal on the Jews was perfectly legitimate in that the Jews themselves had returned Herod's generosity with ingratitude. When he acts as prosecutor against Herod's oldest son for plotting patricide, together with some unspecified crime against Augustus, he is shown as unaffected by the emotional pleas of the son, unlike the rest of the court. Thus his rationality is presented as a great virtue, and he is praised for this good work. However, his rationality served Herod's interests very well. Nicolaus managed to have Antipater convicted as Herod wished, while protecting the father from the blood-guilt and any aura of callousness (T7; F143). Likewise, he states in his autobiography that he would not speak for one brother against the other because of his friendship with the father. Yet it is clear whom he supported; he travelled to Rome with Archelaus, advising him and arguing other points relating to the succession on his behalf. Therefore, he is in fact only paying lip service to that particular principle. These two incidents are reminiscent of his claim, mentioned above, that he did not seek money from his intelligence or sell his services (F132.2). I am sure Nicolaus was loath to accept a wage for any of the acts described here, but they may well have been the means by which he was supported. The final judgement is sealed by a fragment from the introduction to his *Life of Caesar Augustus*, which explains so clearly the rewards to be won through competitions to extol the

¹²¹ P. A. Brunt, 'On Fragments and Epitomes', CQ 30 (1980), 477–94.

virtues of Augustus (F126).¹²² As Momigliano keenly pointed out, this particular composition is not concerned with more than a veneer of Peripatetic analysis with which to cover his panegyric agenda.¹²³

Yet even if Nicolaus was subservient and did compromise his own standards, that does not negate his status as a highly intelligent and motivated writer with a unique voice and perspective. Moreover, he had a powerful audience, as long as he was careful not to give offence. This is an important reminder that an offended audience is no audience at all; this applied not only to those living intimately in a court setting, but also to independent writers who hoped that their works might end up in those same libraries. His impact and the respect he earned can be seen in the extended memory of his philosophical legacy (T2) and the extent to which his philosophical writings are preserved in eastern languages.¹²⁴ Very little survives from the ethnography for modern interpretation, but Photius found his perspective original and his material unique (T13). His intellectual contemporaries may also have found him useful. Two fragments of Nicolaus (F69, F70) found in the Constantinian excerpts on the mythology of early Rome are word-for-word identical with passages in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.82.3 ff., 2.32.1 ff.). I can find no secure evidence as to which was written first, but at the very least this is remarkably clear evidence of trans-Mediterranean audiences for contemporary historical writers. It also seems possible that Nicolaus was one of Strabo's sources on Jewish history; note how Josephus remarks more than once that they give the same account (F97, F98). More than anything else, the quality and quantity of his writing, even in its fragmented form, betray a formidable thinker.

¹²² This is reminiscent of the modification of the traditional poetic festival on Mytilene so as to be a competition between various panegyric pieces dedicated to Pompey (Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 42).

¹²³ A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (1993), 86.

¹²⁴ The philosophical writings of Nicolaus have no real bearing on this discussion. They consist primarily of summaries of Aristotle's own writing and a work on plants. He has been criticized at times for only reiterating Aristotle's thoughts instead of further developing the theories, but in his defence he lived during a period of the 'rediscovery' of Aristotle; see H. J. Drossaart Lulofs, *Nicolaus Damascenus on the Philosophy of Aristotle* (1969) and H. J. Drossaart Lulofs and E.L.J. Poortman (eds. and intro.), *Nicolaus Damascenus, De Plantis: Five Translations* (1989).

Although we know Nicolaus best as a writer, it was oratory above all Nicolaus' other talents which brought the greatest rewards for Herod, and which also gave Nicolaus himself a strong power base. We hear of five instances in which Nicolaus achieved results of significant consequence through his skills of verbal persuasion: the often-mentioned plea for the Ionian Jews, the removal of the punishment laid on Ilium by Agrippa (F134), the conviction of Antipater (F136.6–7), the appeasement of Augustus when Herod invaded Arabia (T5), and the plea for Archelaus regarding the succession (T9; F136.10). Josephus attributed speeches in his histories to Nicolaus, but these must be very different from what was said on any occasion; even if he based them on a text by Nicolaus, he would have modified what he found, and Nicolaus must in any case have edited the texts well after the orations. Thus the characteristics of Nicolaus' rhetoric, which won him not only cases but also a potential audience for his extensive writings, are now lost.

As we have seen, Nicolaus did have influence with Herod, a prominent and ambitious client king, and he worked very hard not to lose that influence through offering insult or disregarding the king's priorities. But what about influence elsewhere? As will become apparent, Nicolaus conceived of his world as subject to the whims of the Romans, and above all Augustus. Since he saw Rome as the centre of power, we must ask whether he had influence there as well. Nicolaus had definitely met and associated with Augustus during his three known trips to Rome, and where we are given details of Nicolaus' behaviour we see that he was just as careful to cultivate and preserve his standing at the heart of empire. He urges Herod to defer to Roman opinions and Augustus' authority, first regarding the treatment of the sons of Mariamne, and then again regarding the sentencing of Antipater. It is a shame we do not have more details of his time in Rome with Herod in 12 BC, which might have provided insight into why Nicolaus was the prime candidate to restore Herod to imperial favour in 8 BC. Part of the reason must have been his verbal dexterity, but there may have been more specific characteristics or personal connections which made him ideal. It is erroneous to suppose that Nicolaus had a relationship with Augustus stretching back to 20 BC; Nicolaus' report of the Indian embassy makes no reference to Augustus himself. Moreover, the generous testimony

which suggests a personal relationship between the emperor and the historian is from late sources and tied up with a strange folk etymology (T1, T10, T13). Jacoby on good grounds dismisses the story. The basic tale is that Augustus named dates after Nicolaus (T10a). Two other sources use the term 'nicolaoi' for dates with no explanation.¹²⁵ Another version says that a 'king', presumably Herod, named dates after Nicolaus (T10b). Then two late versions say that Augustus named cakes after Nicolaus (T1 and T13). With so little harmony in the sources, the etymology must be considered as doubtful. Finally, there is the very detailed biography of Augustus which Nicolaus produced. This too is poor evidence for a close relationship between the two men. The personal details would have been available in Augustus' autobiography or other contemporary biographies.¹²⁶ The writing itself could be considered an attempt to win imperial favour by making such material available to a wider Greek audience, but the publication can also be seen in another light. Since Herod's authority ultimately derived from Rome, his authority was only legitimate if his subjects and the surrounding communities also saw Roman hegemony as valid. By promoting Caesar Augustus, Nicolaus was reinforcing the foundation of his patron's power. Below Augustus, we have seen Nicolaus having success in winning favours from Agrippa, but again this seems not to be based on friendship, but on oratory. So it must be concluded that while Nicolaus had contact with Imperial power, and might have been able to cultivate an audience among the men of highest authority, he cannot be said to have been an intimate of the Emperor or part of an inner circle.

This chapter began by dividing the types of power an individual intellectual might have into his self-determination and his control over others. Within every category we have found a range of nuances, created partly by variations in our historical testimony, but also reflecting the diversity of experience in the ancient world. The intellectual was no exception to the political tides which intruded on everyone's ability to control their own lives. At some points in time,

¹²⁵ Plin. *HN* 13.45 and Isid. *Etym.* 17.7.1.

¹²⁶ See discussion in the next chapter under the subheading 'Local Influences' for relevant bibliography

he was better equipped to manipulate the political situation to his own advantage, but once he was entangled his choices were far more limited. Republican Rome, as opposed to the competing contemporary autocracies, offered a wider range of opportunities for patronage, which allowed a dependent intellectual to diversify his investments. That is to say, by cultivating relations with several men of power the learned man was able to rely on a greater base of support in times of crisis and collect more numerous benefactions during times of stability. The nature of intellectual activity as a shared pursuit, through readings, lectures, and debates, naturally brought such men into contact with a wide section of the ruling classes. The rise of powerful dynasts in the period defined the types of political power an intellectual could assume, but the polis form was still a dominant model for controlling local affairs. While on the face of it, his situation was little different from that of any other member of the elite, his learning in fact gave him an identity beyond his citizenship. He could direct the thoughts of his pupils and claim the attention of other intellectuals. The intellectual had the potential to be a highly effective political animal.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ For a look at how this phenomenon continued into the Imperial period, see T. Habinek, 'Seneca's Renown: Gloria, Claritudo, and the Replication of the Roman Elite', *Classical Antiquity* 19.2 (2000), 264–309. This article uses Seneca as key example of the shift in Roman society from inherited or military esteem towards a system of valuation which acknowledged intellectual achievements, even those of 'new men'.

Theory and Method

Introduction

It is no new idea that in antiquity intellectual activity could have a political dimension, particularly among non-Romans during the Late Republic. However, the poor survival rate of the relevant texts has meant that little attention is given to the writings themselves. Most of the intellectuals of central political interest are known through testimonia, instead of their own words. Those texts which do survive are by authors whose life stories are all but unknown.

These difficulties can be overcome partially by positing a certain degree of unity amongst the intellectual elite throughout the Mediterranean. This premise allows for a reconstruction of the range of representations of and responses to a particular stimulus, namely the development of Roman hegemony. Yet the hypothesis goes a step further. It is not enough to know what was thought and said. When men of high social standing chose to formulate their opinions for a public audience, there is necessarily motivation and result. Thus the act of writing can be considered a historical event worthy of consideration in itself.

A brief illustration may be helpful. It is my working hypothesis that statements made by non-Romans regarding Roman engagements outside Italy are not just reflections of reality, but are also attempts to direct the perspective of the elite, both Roman and provincial, and thereby redirect their future interactions. The writing of Nicolaus' *Life of Caesar Augustus* can be interpreted as a political act from many angles. On a localized scale, it could help to legitimize to a Hellenized audience the source of his patron's

authority, as a client king of Rome, or from a Roman perspective, reinforce Augustus' own legitimacy through the strong themes of dynastic succession, often at the expense of accuracy. Nicolaus claims that it was legally proper and necessary for the future Augustus, as Julius Caesar's adopted son and heir, to assume his political responsibilities (F130.18). Thus the Augustan regime is presented in terms well understood in the Eastern world of kingship. Such a representation is in line with observations that the emergence of the adoration of the emperor in the East was initiated by the local populations, not dictated from the centre, and was modelled on the previous treatment of Hellenistic dynasts.¹ This pattern of provincial behaviour helped guide Augustus' own actions and consequently mediated the impact of Rome on the lives of the provincials.

More than any other intellectual product, contemporary history writing allows for comment on and criticism of recent events,² since the aftermath of such events still had an impact on the lives of the author and those around him. This makes the political character of the texts relatively rich and transparent. From the perspective of historical significance, the historical genre is a logical choice when seeking an intellectual product with the potential to affect political events.

¹ R. MacMullen, *Romanization in the Time of Augustus* (2000), 14–15 and *passim*.

² F. Jacoby's landmark article on his systematization of ancient historical genres ('Über die Entwicklung der griechischen Geschichtsschreibung', *Klio* 9 (1909), 80–123) singled out *Zeitgeschichte* (or 'contemporary history') as one of his primary distinctions, the others being mythography, ethnography, horography, and chronography. From this point contemporary history has received particular scrutiny in the study of historical genres in antiquity; the questions often centre on the actual conceptualization of the ancient writers. Key discussions on the topic include C. Fornara, *The Nature of History* (1983), 1–46; G. A. Press, *The Development of the Idea of History in Antiquity* (1982), 35–60; J. Marincola, 'Genre, Convention, and Innovation in Greco-Roman Historiography', in C. S. Kraus (ed.), *The Limits of Historiography* (1999), 281–324. There is, of course, also the more philosophical treatment in R. G. Collingwood's *The Idea of History* (revised edition, 1994), of which the first part is dedicated to Greco-Roman developments. The application of the term 'contemporary history' in this study should not be taken to indicate adherence to any particular theory regarding the concept of history writing in antiquity. Instead, it is applied simply for convenience to denote texts which address the recent past, however the author conceived of his project as a whole.

The Utility and Veracity of the Historical Genre

This latent power derives from two intertwined characteristics associated with the genre in antiquity: its potentially pragmatic value, especially to the statesman, and its associations with veracity. Part of history's innate ability to persuade derives from the genre's claim to accuracy and impartiality.³ Consider in this context the words of Nicolaus and Diodorus: '... Nicolaus applauded this [Herod's interest in history], saying it was most statesmanlike and also useful to the king to inquire into the works and deeds of the past' (F135); while Diodorus says, 'for if it be true that the myths which are related about Hades, in spite of the fact that their subject matter is fictitious, contribute greatly to fostering piety and justice among men, how much more must we assume that history, the prophetess of truth, she who is the mother-city of philosophy as a whole, is still more potent to equip men's characters for noble living?' (Diod. 1.2.2).⁴

Nevertheless, the ancients appreciated that contemporary history need not be objective, especially when the events being recorded have a direct impact on the life of the author.⁵ Josephus criticizes Nicolaus of Damascus, claiming that he was forced to cover up Herod's errors in his history, the cruel treatment of his family and the disturbing of Jewish holy sites (T12, F101–2), but even worse, he had to falsify Herod's ancestry in his writing to please the king (F96). Josephus explains his forgiveness of his source's digressions from the full truth, in that he was not like most historians, but instead composed under the auspices of another man. Josephus' perception of the uniqueness of Nicolaus' situation warns us against extrapolating too much from individual examples to the whole of a genre. Of course, the sceptic could further argue that Josephus himself was concerned to preserve the credibility of his own chosen means of political expression. It is not unreasonable to think that at least some overt claims to impartiality and honesty in contemporary history are attempts to combat

³ See Cic. *De or.* 2.36 and *Leg.* 1.5.

⁴ Compare the similar sentiments regarding the relationship to philosophy found in pseudo-Dionysius of Halicarnassus: *ἱστορία φιλοσοφία ἐστὶν ἐκ παραδειγμάτων* (*Rhet.* 2.2.ii = 376 U.-R.).

⁵ T. J. Luce, 'Ancient Views on the Causes of Bias in Historical Writing', *C Phil.* 84 (1989), 16–31.

accusations of bias. On the other hand, in the post-Polybian period of composition, the 'pragmatic' or 'didactic' function of history writing, especially of contemporary events, was a commonplace assumption, meaning that the audience would expect the author to offer commentary and interpretation.⁶ We recall the story told of Lucullus, that on his way to the Mithridatic command he learned how to be a general by reading histories.⁷

Yet another part of the credibility of a historical text, for both the ancient and modern audience, is based on the relationship of the author to the recorded events. From the very origins of the genre with Herodotus historians have expounded on the validity of their methodology. Herodotus could not claim to have seen the distant past, but he had seen those distant places where it all happened and talked to the descendants of the peoples in question. Thucydides wrote what he had experienced and what he learned from others, likewise Polybius. There are many self-references preserved in the fragments of Posidonius, often describing particular sights he had witnessed during his travels, though without direct mention of the *Histories*, one cannot tell from which work any particular fragment derives.⁸ Similarly, Nicolaus draws heavily on his own actions and observations in his writings, and Diodorus claims specifically to have visited a large portion of Asia and Europe just for the purpose of historical autopsy (1.4.1). Authorial experience and textual narrative are inextricably intertwined within the historical genre.

⁶ F. W. Walbank, 'Profit or Amusement: Some Thoughts on the Motives of Hellenistic Historians' in H. Verdin, G. Schepens, and E. de Keyser (eds.), *Purposes of History* (1990), 253–66, explores the semi-philosophical debate over whether pleasurable activities (like poetry) can have a didactic value and how goals of pleasure and didacticism manifested themselves in history writing. He concludes that Polybius acknowledged the pleasure of usefulness (well-structured clear narrative), but not necessarily the usefulness of pleasure (sensational storytelling).

⁷ Cic. *Luc.* 2.1.2 and *Hort.* fr. 13Gr. For disdain of military knowledge gained through books, see Sall. *Iug.* 85.12 and Cic. *Font.* 43. R. Rutherford, 'Learning from History: Categories and Case-Histories', in R. Osborne and S. Hornblower (eds.), *Ritual, Finance, Politics* (1994), 53–68, although primarily concerned with Thucydides, offers a very useful systematic approach for looking at the intended utility of ancient historical writing.

⁸ T5 E-K, T14 E-K, T15 E-K = T5a Jac., T16–21 E-K, T22 E-K = T5b Jac., T23–24 E-K, T27–8 E-K = T6–7 Jac.

Reception of the Text in Antiquity

If we are to hold to a model in which the production and reception of historical texts are significant political events, further information is needed on the second half of this formula, i.e. reception and the audience. In the previous chapter a general idea of the potential readership was gained through surveying testimonia on interactions between statesmen and intellectuals.⁹ Here something can be said on the theoretical side regarding the genre of history in antiquity in relation to the purposes of its exponents and to its reception.

The relationship of the historian to his audience (intended and otherwise) has been considered most thoroughly by Momigliano.¹⁰ He observes that historians did not have a defined function in the ancient world which automatically supplied an audience; contrast their position with the ceremonial, usually semi-religious, often laudatory role of the poet, or the professional, usually educational role of the philosopher. Momigliano interprets the repeated claims in historical texts to both pleasure and didacticism as arising out of this ill-defined function. He also suggests it may explain why many historians were non-participants, exiles or old men, writing about the societal roles and events with which they had been, or wished to be, engaged. This lack of function stripped the ancient historian of a guaranteed audience, requiring that one be sought or created.

To develop this idea further, it should not be surprising that historians often attempt to fill one or both of the traditional roles for writers. It might seem difficult to assign a religious significance to history writing, unless perhaps one thinks of the origins of the Roman annalistic tradition.¹¹ Is it at all conceivable that Diodorus saw a connection between the pontifical practice and his own choice of format? Did an annalistic structure lend credibility through association with a sacred practice of recording events? Of a more concrete

⁹ C. Schultze, 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus and his Audience', in I. S. Moxon, J. D. Smart, and A. J. Woodman (eds.), *Past Perspectives* (1986), 121–42, is a particularly insightful case study.

¹⁰ A. Momigliano, 'The Historians of the Classical World and their Audiences: Some Suggestions', *ASNP* 7 (1978), 59–75 (= Momigliano, *Sesto contributo*, 361–76,) and *Alien Wisdom* (1975), 22–49.

¹¹ B. W. Frier, *Libri Annales Pontificum Maximorum: the Origins of the Annalistic Tradition* (1979).

nature, the laudatory function was a real possibility for a historical text, be the object of praise an individual or state. It supplied not only an audience but also the prospect of patronage. Consider Calisthenes of Olynthus' place in Alexander's entourage. From the deification of Julius Caesar onwards, praise of the imperial family in any form could also carry religious overtones. There is also some controversial evidence that may indicate that the oral recitation of history narrative could feature in cultic activity honouring the Romans.¹² The role of educator was equally valid. Polybius portrays himself as a mentor to the young Scipio, but some have thought him also to be a eulogist of the family which treated him so well.

Marincola has connected this lack of a specific societal function with the historian's lack of confinement to a single genre.¹³ Many historians also published biographies, literary or rhetorical criticism, treatises on tactics, philosophy, ethnography, and geography. In light of this, it is not nearly so surprising that histories themselves, especially those identified as 'universal', should contain diverse materials. Being a historian was not a profession and the historian was always principally an intellectual and member of the elite.

This concept of audience as a community of intellectual peers is a by-product of the changed state of politics in the Mediterranean.¹⁴ Such writers as Herodotus and Thucydides are best understood within the context of the Greek *poleis*. When the autonomy of the Greek cities crumbled, history writing also shifted into the courts of the new dynasts. Likewise, the subject matter of histories changed to address individual morality and to place greater emphasis on fantastic places and events, as the audience changed from being participants to observers of history. When power shifted from the

¹² Aristotheos of Troezen, identified as a *ἱστοριογράφος*, delivered a *ἐνκώμια εἰς Ῥωμαίους τοὺς κοινούς τῶν Ἑλλάνων εὐεργέτας*; Jac., no. 835 T1 = Syll.³ 702. This has been taken as evidence of cult activity at Delphi by S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power* (1984), 42. A. Erskine, 'The Romans as Common Benefactors', *Historia* 43.1 (1994), 80, is more sceptical. On Chios, there was clearly cultic activity, but the epigraphic evidence is unclear regarding how Romulus and Remus are represented in relation to this cult. P. S. Derow and Wm. G. Forrest, 'An Inscription from Chios', *ABSA* 77 (1982), 79–92, suggest a text perhaps accompanying a relief, but L. Moretti, 'Chio e Lupa Capitolina', *RFIC* 108 (1980), 33–54, favours a statue.

¹³ J. Marincola, *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography* (1997), 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 21f.

Hellenistic dynasts to Rome there was a corresponding development in history writing. The Roman political structure, especially its system of alliances, did not automatically remove all hope of political power or influence from the elite of foreign states.¹⁵ Instead, it encouraged the local elite to identify with the Roman ruling classes, and held out the possibility of incorporation into the Roman citizenship, especially in the Imperial period.

Momigliano once described the difference between Polybius and Posidonius (as understood through Diodorus) by saying that the former was attempting to explain Roman rule to the Greeks and the latter wanted to demonstrate to the Romans how best to govern.¹⁶ The observation underlying this summary of intent and audience seems to be that in Polybius the Romans appear at times to be 'foreign', that is to say he takes the time to explain the Roman institutions to his audience, whereas in what remains of Diodorus, Rome appears to have become a familiar character in the narrative—the reality, not the oddity. Furthermore, it was the growing acceptance of Greek forms of cultural expression by the Romans which allowed Momigliano to envision a Roman audience for Posidonius (as he understood the character of his work through reading Diodorus).

This theoretical discussion on the potential make-up of the audience for a historical text leaves one wondering at the actual mechanics of presentation in a largely oral/aural culture without easy means of reproducing manuscripts. It is known that in the second century BC history could be publicly performed by the author himself.¹⁷ Moreover, as much reading was done aloud, sometimes by a slave employed particularly for this task, more than one individual could be exposed to a text at a single time.¹⁸ From Cicero, we know that the borrowing and private copying of manuscripts was common.¹⁹

¹⁵ P. A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (1990), 267–81.

¹⁶ A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom* (1975), 35–6.

¹⁷ Aristotheos of Troezen at Delphi; Jac., no. 835 T1 = *Syll.*³ 702.

¹⁸ Cic. *Att.* 12.4 SB = 1.12.4 (1 Jan. 61), reports Cicero's feelings of grief at the death of his reader, a young slave boy; Cic. *Q Fr.* 25.1 SB = 3.5.1, (Oct. or Nov. 54), reports how Cicero had a draft of his *On the Republic* read aloud to himself and his friend, Sallustius.

¹⁹ For examples of borrowing books, see Cic. *Att.* 24.1 SB = 2.4.1 (early Apr. 59), 88.1 SB = 4.14.1 (mid May 54), 239.1 SB = 12.3.1 (May/June 46), 305.2 SB = 13.32.2

It is also important to remember that each 'book' was an individual scroll easily separable from the corpus: hence book-long 'digressions', such as Polybius' book 6 on the constitution, or book 34 on geography; likewise Trogus' books 41–2 on Parthia or book 43 on early Italian history, or even the early mythological and geographical books in Diodorus, can be seen to some degree as separate compositions, making the plural titles, like the *Histories*, or the suggestion of a collection of different works in a title like the *Library*, much more understandable.²⁰ The practical difficulties of such divisions are well expressed in Diodorus' last surviving fragment, where he complains that some early books have been stolen and published uncorrected; to overcome some of the consequences of this he sets out a plan of his work.²¹ This solidifies our understanding of 'books' as being separable from a whole work, but also suggests an eager reading public.

Authorial Identity

There are six authors whose texts survive in sufficient quantity for consideration when seeking the political significance of history writing during the period from 146 BC to AD 14. Henceforth, I shall use the term 'core authors' to refer collectively to the author of 1 Maccabees, Posidonius of Apamea and Rhodes, Diodorus Siculus, Pompeius Trogus, Nicolaus of Damascus, and Memnon of Heraclea. Likewise, 'core texts' will be employed when referring to their writings as a corpus. There is a wealth of testimony for both Nicolaus and Posidonius; for Diodorus and Trogus we have very little information which they themselves provide; and Memnon and the author of 1

(29 May 45). For copying, see Cic. *Att.* 87.2 SB = 4.13.2 (15/16 Nov. 55), 243.1 SB = 12.6a.1 (October? 46), and 21.2 SB = 2.1.2 (c.3 June 60).

²⁰ Further evidence for the easy mental and physical separation of the books of a single work during antiquity is found in the survival of whole books as extracts, like the first five books of Polybius' *Histories*, or Photius' having access only to books 9–16 of Memnon of Heraclea.

²¹ 40.8. The theft and distribution of works prior to the author's desired time for publication is also known from Cicero, in whose letters it becomes clear that the clerks and copyists of the household were most likely to be at fault, *Att.* 57.2 SB = 3.12.2 (17 July 58), 80.1–3 SB = 4.5.1–3 (June 56), and 91.1 SB = 4.17.1 (1 Oct. 54).

Maccabees are unknown except through assumptions about the type of individual who could have written the documents in question.²² Thus for most of the core authors the meagre and marginal nature of the characterizations offered here can only hint at the richness of their intellectual endeavours and their engagement with contemporary political dilemmas.

The earliest of our authors, the writer of 1 Maccabees, is wholly anonymous. Only two temporal self-references are included, and both are used to express longevity in a familiar biblical formula. The man was literate, not only in Hebrew, but also in Greek, as shown by his use and translation of diplomatic documents. He was well read, being familiar with scripture and temple liturgy. His education allowed him to be comfortable emulating scriptural prose styles and composing poetry. The themes he highlights in his excursus on the Romans all echo familiar *topoi* in Hellenistic literature.²³ It has been said that the influence of Hellenistic historiography can be seen throughout the composition.²⁴ It seems safe to say that he had read some Greek authors. He had access to temple and archival documents, as well as literature.

All this points to his being a member of the elite. He strongly supported the ruling Hasmonaean dynasty and their preservation of the holy laws. However, it may not be too much to describe his view and interests as most often politically pragmatic, instead of religious or mystical. His faith in God is unfailing and he is too pious to use any term coming close to the name of God, preferring 'heaven', but there is nothing which suggests supernatural events in the narrative, elements which were readily incorporated into the record of the same historical events by the author of 2 Maccabees. In its present form, 1 Maccabees is a Greek book in sixteen chapters, which came to be

²² See the appendix for discussion of the difficulties with dating either the time of composition or the dates covered by the individual works.

²³ A. Momigliano, 'The Date of the First Book of Maccabees', in *L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine: mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon* (1976), 657–661 = Momigliano, *Sesto contributo*, 561–66, esp. 563. On Roman attitudes to allies, cf. Polyb. 24.10.11; on their distrust of monarchy, cf. Polyb. 10.40; on internal concord, cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.66; on Roman interest in mines and similar resources, cf. Plin. *HN* 3.138. Momigliano sees the allusion to the Achaean War as parallel to the treatment in Diod. 32.4.5; I feel it has much more in common with Trog. 34.1–2.

²⁴ J. R. Bartlett, 1 Maccabees (1998), 33–4.

part of the Apocrypha. It tells the story of the emergence of the Hasmonaean dynasty and their struggle against Hellenistic, primarily Seleucid, monarchs to preserve the practice of the holy laws, to control Jerusalem and the temple, and to establish and expand the Jewish state.

It has often been argued that the present version of 1 Maccabees is an early translation of a Hebrew original. However, the arguments in favour of it being a translation are far from conclusive. One of the oldest testimonies for this is the title given to the book by the late second-century AD writer Origen, 'sarbēthsabanaiel' (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.25). There is much dispute as to what Hebrew phrase this is supposed to transliterate. Jerome, in his *Prologus Galentus*, describes the character of the book as Hebraic, but this may be a comment on its style rather than its language.²⁵ At the beginning of the last century a nearly comprehensive list of potential internal evidence was compiled including what might be construed as mistranslations, transliterations, and stylistic points.²⁶ Unfortunately, such features could be as easily attributed to a non-native Greek-speaking author as to a translator. If it is a translation it would have had to be composed in the first century BC: Josephus used the Greek version; the Syriac and Armenian versions derive from the Greek, as does the Old Latin. If it were a translation, we obviously could not presume to have the original words of the author, but there would be no need to assume that large sections of the original text are now lost. A translator, as with any copyist, may act as an editor, but does not attempt to rework the material into his own composition. I am confident that the book, even if it is a translation, can be analysed as a complete representation of the original author's composition.

Posidonius is potentially the most historically significant of the authors, but his historical writings are the most fragmented. His dates are usually given as c.135 to c.51 BC, but while the range is plausible, these specific dates are derived from minimal and dubious testimonia. He was by no means only a historian; most of his writing

²⁵ *Macchabaeorum primum librum hebraicum repperi*; some wish to see this as testimony that Jerome actually read the Hebrew original, but the wording is uncertain.

²⁶ C.L. Torrey, 'Maccabees (Books)', in T. K. Cheyne (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (1902), III, cols. 2858–9.

which survives is on other topics, and he is most consistently referred to as a philosopher, an eminent figure in the Stoa.²⁷ Twenty-nine book titles are securely assigned to him on such diverse topics as physics, ethics, logic, the sciences, and geography, as well as history.²⁸ There are also letters and fragments of works whose titles are unknown today. Cicero, his pupil for a time, never even refers to his *Histories*, but apparently thought enough of his historical writing to ask him to produce a monograph on his consulship—a request Posidonius tactfully declined.²⁹

By contrast, Diodorus left behind the most extensive surviving Hellenistic history, even considering the fragmentary state of some of the books, but little biographical information has been preserved. He tells his readers that he comes from Agyrium (1.4.4), but the heavy focus on Sicily in much of the work might have led some to speculate on a Sicilian origin in any case. His dates are unknown and it is usually the dates of composition which are stressed. He had already decided to undertake a history by the time of his visit to Egypt, c.60 BC (1.83), and may have resided in Rome while composing most of the work from c.56 down to c.30 (1.4.2–3), by which time, it is thought, the composition was finished. He read both Greek and Latin (1.4.4). There is no evidence that he had intimate contact with any historically relevant personages. Not much else can be said about his life.

His work is entitled the *Library*, and had 40 books, of which 15, books 1–5 and 11–20, survive complete. It claims to be a universal history, but focuses predominantly on Greek and Roman affairs. The narrative begins in mythological times, for which a geographical

²⁷ For a general account of Posidonius' philosophy, see Kidd, *Trans.*, 1–28; more specialized studies include A. Grilli, 'Lo stoicismo di mezzo. Panezio e Posidonio', in Pra, M. dal (ed.), *Storia della filosofia* (1975), iv. 141–66, and O. Gigon, 'Poseidonios und die Geschichte der stoischen Philosophie', *Archaïognosia* 1 (1980), 261–99. For the wider context, see A. Erskine, *The Hellenistic Stoa* (1989). It is often suggested that Posidonius' Stoicism led him to compose a different type of universal history—one not fixated only on political and military issues, but embracing also social and natural history, and the history of cosmos, an idea which harmonizes with the Stoic conception of interconnectedness. It is obvious that his philosophy would have influenced all his writing, but also that philosophy cannot be used to reconstruct those works which are partially or wholly lost.

²⁸ Kidd, *Trans.*, 72 provides a list of book titles. A further seven titles he lists as doubtfully ascribed to Posidonius.

²⁹ T34 and F82 E-K = T9 Jac. = Cic. *Att.* 21.2 SB = 2.1.2.

organization predominates, but moves into an annalistic approach synchronizing Roman consular years, Athenian archons, and Olympiad years. His alignment of these dating systems is often inaccurate.³⁰ The narrative ends in 60 BC, but Diodorus originally planned to carry it down to Julius Caesar's expeditions to Britain in 55 and 54.³¹ It is often suggested that fear of causing political offence during turbulent times led him to conclude prematurely.³² As no epilogue to the work, or any similar type of passage, survives, this is just speculation. The books relevant to the present inquiry, 33 onwards, are in a highly fragmentary state. Some of the book divisions cannot be established, which has led to a combination of 34/35 and 38/39 in modern editions. Little of the original annalistic structure is still preserved in the reconstructed text of these later books, though presumably Diodorus did employ the same techniques as in the earlier books.

All our biographical information regarding Trogus derives from the following passage.³³

At the end of this book [43] Trogus tells us the following. His forefathers were of Vocontian origin, his grandfather, Pompeius Trogus, had received Roman citizenship from Gnaeus Pompeius in the war against Sertorius and his uncle had been a cavalry squadron leader under the same Pompeius in the war with Mithridates. He adds that his father served under Gaius Caesar and was responsible for his correspondence, his diplomatic missions, and his official seal. (Trogus 43.5.11–12)

The proper title for the 44 books is *Historiae Philippicae*, from which survive an 'epitome' by Justin, a set of prologues, and a few other fragments. There is no agreement on the meaning of the title; some want to see its origins in the contents of the work itself, others believe

³⁰ The Loeb edition, vol. 12, 311–17, provides a table comparing Olympiads, the year normally assigned to the archon listed, the year normally assigned to the named Roman magistrates, and the relevant passage in Diodorus.

³¹ 3.38.2, 5.21.2, 5.22.1.

³² On the terminal date and Diodorus' change in plan, see K.S. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* (1990), 160, and 169–72.

³³ J. M. Alonso-Núñez, 'An Augustan World History: *The Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus', G&R 34 (1987), 56–72, esp. 57, thinks that CIL xii 1371 might refer to a relative of Trogus, but this is extremely tenuous and adds little to our understanding of Trogus himself.

that it refers to a similarity in historical technique with the work of the same title by Theopompus.³⁴ The work has also often been considered a 'universal' history as it traces a succession of empires as they came to power in the Mediterranean basin, beginning at the earliest times and down to Trogus' own times.

Nicolaus' life has already received full treatment in the previous chapter. It is sufficient here to note that besides being a historian he was a Peripatetic philosopher and an orator. The works of interest here include not only his universal history, which is unique in combining Hellenistic and biblical sources, but also his autobiography and his biography on the early years of Augustus Caesar.

Memnon composed a local history of the city of Heraclea Pontica; the only trace that remains of his work is an epitome by Photius of books 9 to 16 (Jac., no. 434).³⁵ The surviving narrative opens with the tyranny of Clearchus in 364 bc and closes shortly before Julius Caesar's return to Rome in 47. We may assume that Memnon followed the convention of local histories by beginning at the foundation of Heraclea, including both mythical and historical details, and carried the account down to his own day. The first of these assumptions seems to be supported by the overall character of Memnon's writing style. There is little evidence to suggest what were Memnon's dates or even at what point the *History* concluded.³⁶

These six men came from diverse parts of the Mediterranean basin and multifarious cultural influences. They each chose slightly different compositional forms as best suited to the material they wished to

³⁴ For discussion on the general difficulties with identifying the original labels for ancient works see N. Horsfall, 'Some Problems of Titulature in Roman Literary History', *BICS* 28 (1981), 103–14, esp. 105–6. More specific discussions include R. Urban, 'Historiae Philippicae bei Pompeius Trogus. Versuch einer Deutung', *Historia* 31 (1982), 82–96, and R. Develin, 'Pompeius Trogus and Philippic History', *Sstot* 8 (1985), 110–15. The latter claim is far more challenging to prove, being based primarily on the description of Theopompus in Dion. Hal. *Pomp.* The first two chapters defend Dionysius' criticism of Plato, while the rest of the letter responds to a request from the recipient for an opinion on the styles of various historians. Theopompus is treated in the final chapter (6) and receives the highest praise. It has been speculated that Trogus himself may have been the recipient of this letter.

³⁵ The most complete treatments of Memnon can be found in Janke, *Comm.* and P. Desideri, 'Studi di Storiografia Eracleota', *Studi Classici e Orientali* 19–20 (1970–71), 487–537.

³⁶ See appendix.

cover. They are linked, however, by a number of factors. Foremost are the genre of history and the documentation of the recent past. This common time period, 146 BC to AD 14, saw the impact of Hellenistic and Roman forces, both cultural and political, on the lives of the authors and the world around them. Their reactions to the changing political landscape occupy the major part of this book. Yet their other common element presents serious methodological problems. Not one of their texts survives as a whole (with the possible exception of 1 Maccabees), and much of what we have is transmitted by later authors. The influence of these transmitting authors on our perceptions of the original author must be assessed and a certain allowance made for distortion.

Of course, there were other non-Romans writing about Rome at the same time as these six authors, but none of those whose works survive selected contemporary events as their subject. Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote on the earliest period of Roman mythology and legendary history, clearly with certain politically charged objectives. His narrative will provide useful comparisons when we look at the uses of myth in the characterization of Rome in the contemporary histories. Strabo, in his *Geography*, presented a literary portrait of the world now ruled by the Romans, which thus often touched on contemporary events.³⁷ He also wrote a contemporary history which is all but lost to us.³⁸ Yet he is writing slightly later, possibly after the succession of Tiberius, and arguably the function of the historical writing within the *Geography* is significantly different from that of a contemporary history, though of all the writings from and on the period, Strabo's would be potentially the easiest to integrate with the discussion here. He does provide a wealth of testimonia on the intellectuals of the period which has already contributed to this discussion. Other potential sources for intellectual responses to Rome include prophetic literature and laudatory documents.³⁹ Such

³⁷ K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History* (1999), esp. 210–28.

³⁸ Jac., no. 91, with a total of 19 fragments filling less than six pages.

³⁹ In the category of laudations is the Hymn of Melinno (Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Graec.* II² 6, 209 f.); see J.-D. Gauger, 'Der Rom-Hymnos der Melinno und die Vorstellung von der «Ewigkeit» Roms', *Chiron* 14 (1984), 267–99, and C. M. Bowra, *On Greek Margins* (1970), 199–212. On oracular literature, see H. W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy* (1988); J.-D. Gauger, 'Phelgon von Tralleis, mirab. III', *Chiron* 10 (1980), 225–61; J. J. Collins, *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (1997).

writings, however, are particularly challenging to place in their correct chronological context or to attribute to probable authors.

For each of the core authors we have some indication as to his geographical origins and residence. However, in modern scholarship there has been a keen interest of late in such topics as ethnicity and identity in antiquity. These ill-defined concepts represent the debate as to the influence of cultural surroundings and biological origins on individual and collective thought and action. They also provide generalized categories in which to place a whole range of labels applied by the ancients to particular people. These labels cover such diverse aspects as legal status within a community (citizen, foreigner, slave, etc.), religion, personal place of origin, ancestral place of origin, place of residence, native tongue, and many more. This range clearly indicates that multiple labels can be applied to a single individual, without being mutually exclusive.

The necessity of further discussion on identity in relation to the core authors arises, not from difficulties in interpreting the testimonia or their texts, but instead with the very formulation of the criteria for the selection of the core authors. One criterion was that they be non-Roman, or more accurately, excluded from a share in Roman government. Since the objective is to capture the range and significance of the reactions to Rome by the provincial elite, we need to be confident that an author is actually a member of that group in order to recover any relevant material from his writing. Yet the late Hellenistic age was one when the potential loyalties and allegiances of any one individual were numerous. Thus a judgement on the core authors' 'identity' can only be made if we have a working definition of 'Roman' and some concept of the possible alternatives. Three broad categories may help to illustrate the multi-faceted identities of the core authors and their peers, and how those identities might influence writings from the period. My proposed divisions are 'Local', 'Hellenic', and 'Roman'. These labels have been selected to be inclusive of geographical, cultural, and political affiliations.

It may be helpful to begin with a single example of how one individual can draw on all three categories. Claiming an identity had certain advantages, especially when a connection was made with the dominant power. Multiple levels of personal identity were a by-product of the cosmopolitan trends in the Mediterranean, a

process which has its origin in the earliest periods of Greek colonization, was accelerated under the Hellenistic kingdoms after Alexander, and was cemented by the spread and establishment of Roman hegemony. The New Testament story of the persecution of Paul is perhaps the clearest and most familiar example of multiple identities as a source of strength (Acts 21:27–28:31).⁴⁰ He easily shifts his identity as it fulfils his needs, an identity encapsulated in both his choice of language and his verbal statements. First, he speaks Greek and is dissociated from an Egyptian mob leader (21:37); he then says, ‘I am a Jew, a Tarsian from Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city’ (21:39). He uses familial terms (‘brothers and fathers’) when beginning to speak to the Jews (22:1), and addresses them in their own language and therefore they listen to him (21:40, 22:2). He identifies himself as a native of Tarsus; presumably because it was the Jews of Asia who accused him, but also says he was reared and educated in ‘this city’, Jerusalem, so as to appeal to the rest of the audience (22:3). Finally, when he has not won over the crowd, he petitions a nearby centurion with the fact that he is a Roman citizen so as to escape flogging (22:25). Moreover, Paul’s own writing shows flexibility in the meaning of labels, such as ‘Greek’. Sometimes he uses the ‘Greek versus barbarian’ dichotomy, implying his own allegiance to Greek identity (Romans 1:14). In other places ‘Greek’ becomes the equivalent of Gentile or non-Jew.⁴¹ This near-simultaneous usage of multiple labels or single labels with multiple meanings is not unusual. Like Paul, each of our core authors has particular characteristics which reflect the diversity of the Mediterranean world at this time.

Local Influences

Looking first at the issues surrounding local identities, I do not propose to review the self-evident characteristics of the core authors. It would be of no particular benefit to scrutinize Memnon’s attachment to Heraclea, the very subject of his entire work, or to study the ‘Jewishness’ of the author of 1 Maccabees. Instead, it will be

⁴⁰ R. Wallace and W. Williams, *The Three Worlds of Paul of Tarsus* (1998).

⁴¹ Romans 1:16, cf. Mark 7:26 ‘a Greek, a Syro-Phoenician by birth’, although the same individual is called ‘a Canaanite’ at Matthew 15:22.

enlightening to look at those cases where place of origin or residence has suggested a particular perspective in an author.

Within this delicate issue of ethnicity and tangential topics of culture and religion, an unfortunate presumption has been perpetuated. Roughly stated, it is common for modern authors to regard individuals in the ancient world as having chosen between the local traditions into which they are born and the global trends which infringe on their experience. This needs to be modified, as the example of Nicolaus clearly shows. Born in Damascus and working primarily in the court of Herod, he is heavily influenced by local traditions although they may have borne little relationship to the culture of his youth. The most radical theory I have read in this context suggests that Nicolaus may have been a Jew, but a Jew who did not want to own his identity as such.⁴² This statement is based on the assumption that Nicolaus had a pro-Jewish attitude; such an interpretation of Nicolaus' attitudes does not stand up to scrutiny. To offer but a single example out of many, it is enough to recall that when the fate of Herod's kingdom was to be decided, Nicolaus advised that the Greek cities should be given their freedom, but that the Jewish nation's petition for independence should be rejected (F136.10). More importantly, bias for or against a particular group or identity cannot be used as proof of membership in any group. Was Atticus an Athenian? Or even more absurdly, could one ever consider Posidonius a Gaul, just on account of his interest in and positive ethnographic treatment of the Gauls? Some confusion in this area has been caused by a statement that Josephus puts into Nicolaus' mouth, that he himself sometimes keeps the Sabbath (F142). It is unlikely Nicolaus ever said this, but if he did, the surrounding context provides some explanation. The speech is attempting to explain the merits of this custom as a time of reflection and study, so in effect all Josephus has Nicolaus say is that he often sets aside a day for his intellectual pursuits. Any further speculation that Nicolaus might be a Jew can be dismissed because of the testimony that his father, Antipater, directed his piety towards Zeus (F131).

⁴² J. M. Alonso-Núñez, 'Die Weltgeschichte des Nikolaos von Damaskos', *Sstot* 27 (1995), 3–15, esp. 4.

However, just because Nicolaus was not a Jew, does not mean that he was descended from Greek or Macedonian settlers. Even his name cannot be taken as evidence of his origins, as many local families not only intermarried with the new population left in the wake of Alexander's conquests, but also assumed the style of nomenclature of this relatively recently imposed ruling class.⁴³ Yet the main point here is that Nicolaus himself participated in Greek culture, not only using the language, but also adhering to its canon of education, philosophies, and literary styles. It is a little-mentioned idea, but Nicolaus may very well have learned languages besides Greek.⁴⁴ The influence of Hebraic writing has been detected in his compositions, especially the autobiography.⁴⁵ He used parts of the Old Testament in writing his *Universal History*, but there is no way of telling whether he referred to a Hebrew original or Greek translation. Life at Jerusalem, as well as Damascus, would have offered many opportunities for learning Semitic languages had he so wished.⁴⁶

It is very likely that he also read Latin; it is assumed that he used as a source for his *Life of Caesar Augustus* the emperor's own autobiography and possibly also Asinius Pollio.⁴⁷ That his language of choice

⁴³ R. Laqueur, 'Nikolaos', *RE* xvii, 1. 363.

⁴⁴ A. Momigliano (*Alien Wisdom* (1975), 38) suggests the power gained (specifically by the Romans) through language acquisition was overlooked by many Greek intellectuals, including Posidonius, who sought explanations for Roman power in her traditional institutions, not her adaptability. Yet not all powerful Romans had a good command of Greek; it has been suggested that Augustus himself was not wholly comfortable speaking Greek, and to select Greek for a composition was to exclude some Romans from the audience. Moreover, it would appear that Nicolaus himself may have taken advantage of language learning as a means to acquire influence. We may also recall that Diodorus learned Latin (1.4.4).

⁴⁵ B. Z. Wacholder, *Nicolaus of Damascus* (1962), 37–51; this theory has been dismissed by A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (1993), 86 n. 21.

⁴⁶ For evidence of the coexistence of local dialects even when all known inscriptions from a region were produced in Latin or Greek, see Acts 14:11, where people shout in Lycaonian—one of the few concrete examples of the survival of a local Anatolian language into the early first century AD.

⁴⁷ D. Magnino, 'Una testimonianza dall' Autobiografia di Augusto?', *Athenaeum* 64 (1986), 501–4, draws parallels between the accounts of Octavian's trip to Spain to meet Caesar in Suet. *Aug.* 8.3, and F130.24; Also see, G. Dobesch, 'Nikolaos von Damaskus und die Selbstbiographie des Augustus', *Grazer Beiträge* 7 (1978), 91–174; M. Schüller and U. Staffhorst, 'Die Augustavita des Nikolaos von Damaskos', *Jahresbericht des Bismarckgymnasiums Karlruhe* (1991/2), 55–67; and B. Scardigli, 'Asinius Pollio und Nikolaos von Damaskus', *Historia* 32 (1983), 121–3.

was above all Greek is hardly surprising since it served as the intellectual lingua franca of the day. Living as he did in an area of interaction between Hellenistic influence and Eastern cultures with Rome looming large in the background, it would be surprising if he did not exhibit some of the effects from these points of interaction. He himself felt no need to repudiate his origins and mocked those who tried to assume status or cultural purity by identifying themselves with traditional Greek cities, instead of retaining their connections with their native soil (F132.5). Could he have been thinking of Posidonius, who exchanged Apamea for Rhodes? The fragment itself actually gives Rhodes as one of its examples of the type of city chosen by intellectuals.

Many testimonia refer to Posidonius' city of origin as Apamea. I do not doubt the accuracy of that identification. However, there is absolutely no indication of how much of his life was actually spent there, though there is ample documentation of his time elsewhere, especially on Rhodes, where he served for a time as *prytanis*, the most important local magistracy, which combined presidential and executive functions.⁴⁸ This ambiguity about his relationship to his city of origin makes it wholly inappropriate to see historical passages referring to Syria, or Apamea itself, as having been derived from personal experience or firsthand knowledge. Likewise, any suggestion of bias for or against that region cannot be substantiated. Malitz is probably correct in inferring that Posidonius considered himself to be Greek, not 'Eastern', but he goes too far in speculating that Posidonius had a Macedonian family background and affiliations to specific dynasties.⁴⁹ Posidonius' 'Greek' characteristics are only evidence of his entrenched position within Hellenistic culture and are no indication of ethnicity. In fact, Posidonius is an excellent example of the ambiguity of ethnicity among the elite of the Hellenistic world of Alexander's successors.

⁴⁸ See T2a E-K = T2 Jac. and T2b E-K as a general statement of his Syrian origin and career on Rhodes. T3 E-K (= Cic. *Tusc.* 5.107) compares permanent residence abroad to exile, using Posidonius as one example of many. From statements that he was a student of Panaetius, head of the Stoa in Athens (T9 E-K and T10 E-K), it is known that he lived in Athens for a time. T14 E-K to T26 E-K give evidence of his extensive travels. T27 E-K = T6 Jac. says he was the *prytanis* at Rhodes.

⁴⁹ J. Malitz, *Die Historien des Poseidonios* (1983), 8.

As for Trogus, the passage of biographical details quoted above seems to distance him from a Gallic heritage, emphasizing his family's connection with the powerful *imperatores* of the Late Republic.⁵⁰ Of course, it is these connections which would have piqued the interest of the epitomator Justin, working centuries after the establishment of the Principate. The autobiographical sketch was positioned at the end of the second to last book, a book which was dedicated to the early history of Rome, Liguria, Massilia, and the surrounding territories. Justin's introduction to the book blatantly ignores its non-Roman content, but does stress Trogus' personal connection to the material that follows. He describes it in terms of a traveller's return home after a long journey, and says that he did not want to be an ungrateful citizen.⁵¹ Although I would argue that ethnic identity cannot be translated directly into textual bias, since the presentation of that identity is part of the textual construction, it is worth highlighting that Trogus chose to present the early histories of both his 'homelands' in the same book separately from the history of the rest of the western Mediterranean. Moreover, it is evident within this book that he sees the early civilizing force in both Italy and Gaul to have been interaction with the Greek world. He points out all the traditional mythological connections between Rome and the Greeks, Evander, Hercules, and Aeneas, but more directly says:

It was from these Greeks [the Phocaeans who founded Massilia] that the Gauls learned to live in a more civilized manner, abandoning or modifying their barbarous ways; they learned to practise agriculture and encircle their cities with walls. Then they became used to a life governed by law rather than

⁵⁰ M. Rambaud, 'Trogue-Pompée, un gaulois dans l'empire' *siècle* (1983), iii. 129–46. in *La patrie gauloise d'Agrippa au VIe siècle*, (1983), iii. 129–46.

⁵¹ *Parthicis orientalibusque ac totius propemodum orbis rebus explicitis ad initia Romanae urbis Trogus veluti post longam peregrinationem domum revertitur, ingrati civis officium existimans, si, cum omnium gentium res gestas inlustraverit, de sola tantum patria taceat. Breviter igitur initia Romani imperii perstringit, ut nec modum propositi operis excedat nec utique originem urbis, quae est caput totius orbis, silentio praetermittat* (43.1.1–2). I am not wholly convinced that *initia Romanae urbis* and *initia Romani imperii* refer to the same narrative. What is preserved by Justin is a myth-history of early Italy, the foundation of Rome and the earliest kings. In chap. 3 there is an extremely rough transition from a statement that Rome conquered first Italy and then the world, through a discussion of 'spear worship', to Gallic affairs. I would suggest that the *initia Romani imperii* mentioned in the introduction are missing from Justin's text.

armed might, to cultivating the vine and planting the olive tree; and so brilliantly successful was the society and its affairs that, instead of Greece emigrating to Gaul, it looked as if Gaul had been moved to Greece. (Trogus 43.4.1–2)⁵²

This passage is in stark contrast with the credit Trogus gives to Caesar Augustus for a similar process in Spain—this is the final sentence of Justin's text: 'Having conquered the rest of the world, [Augustus] turned his victorious arms on them [the Spaniards] and bringing a wild, barbarous people to a more civilized way of life under the rule of law, gave them a regular provincial administration' (Trogus 44.5.8). I would suggest that Trogus wanted to present himself as an equal participant in both the Roman and Gallic traditions, distinct traditions which had been civilized from the earliest of times thanks to connections with Greece.⁵³ His use of Massilia as a link between the two traditions finds a precedent in Strabo's writing. The description of Massilia in the *Geography* includes discussion of the city's influence on the Gauls, particularly in teaching them Greek, and goes on to say that young Romans used it as an alternative to Athens as a centre of learning (4.1.5 C181).⁵⁴

In light of this juxtaposition of cultures, it is not surprising that Trogus' history follows so closely the Greek historiographical tradition, but was written in Latin. The very beginning of Justin's preface contrasts his choice of subject with the language used. He points out that many Romans have written their own history in Greek, but Trogus wanted to make Greek (and world) history accessible in Latin. However, while I believe that Trogus presented himself as both a Gaul and a Roman, that does not exclude the possibility that he might be critical of either heritage.⁵⁵ Just consider Paul's

⁵² J. M. Alonso-Núñez, 'Trogue-Pompée et Massilia (Justin, Epitoma XLIII,3,4–XLIII,5,10)', *Latomus* 53 (1994), 110–17.

⁵³ Cf. discussion of the importance of 'Hellenization' to other historians of the Augustan period in E. Gabba, 'The Historians and Augustus', in F. Millar and E. Segal (eds.), *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (1984), 61–88.

⁵⁴ On the historical realities of interaction, see C. Goudineau, 'Marseilles, Rome and Gaul from the Third to the First Century BC' in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, and C. R. Whittaker (eds.), *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (1983), 76–86. Of interest for comparative material is G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman* (1998).

⁵⁵ E. Malaspina, 'Uno storico filobarbaro, Pompeo Trogo', in B. Luiselli and M. Simonetti (eds.), *Romanobarbarica* (1976), i. 135–58, R. Urban, 'Gallisches

claims to Greek and Roman identity discussed above; surely, the saint cannot be seen as an advocate for either Hellenistic culture or Roman hegemony. Like Paul, Trogus most likely invoked his alternative identities for different purposes such as security or prestige in varying circumstances.

Hellenization? Romanization?

With all of the last three authors, we have already stepped over the bounds of local cultural influence to address questions of Hellenic and Roman identity. This again emphasizes the need to remove oversimplified thinking regarding identity and its manifestations in the texts. Moving on to the impact of Hellenic culture, the discussion needs a slight shift in perspective.⁵⁶ There is no question that all of the texts considered in this work are influenced by the Greek intellectual tradition. Instead, there is a need to look at the question of degree: how much do Hellenic customs shape the authors' choices and their own points of view? We have already seen with Trogus, the only author writing in Latin, that his project was defined wholly in terms of the preceding Greek historiographical tradition, although he saw the project as bridging the gap of understanding between Latinity and Hellenism.

The next step down the ladder is 1 Maccabees. Even such an anti-Hellenizing text shows an awareness of and mimicking of Hellenic traditions. The narrative is contextualized and structured using landmarks in Hellenistic history. It opens with Alexander's achievements, and the struggles of the Diadochi are catalogued as 'the trunk' from which Antiochus IV Epiphanes 'sprouted'. Moreover, it is the Seleucid calendar that is used for dating throughout the document. This last characteristic may provide a key to understanding the presence of other Hellenic features. The text records how Judaea threw off the

Bewusstsein und Romkritik bei Pompeius Trogus', *ANRW* II, 30 (1982), 1424–43, J. M. Alonso-Núñez, 'An Augustan World History: The *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus', *G&R* 34 (1987), 56–72, esp. 69, and J. M. Alonso-Núñez, *La Historia Universal de Pompeyo Trogo* (1992). The latter author argues for a bias in favour of the Gauls, for which he is criticized by F. W. Walbank, 'Review of Alonso-Núñez, *La Historia Universal*', *JRS* 83 (1993), 217.

⁵⁶ J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity, Between Ethnicity and Culture* (2002).

rule of the Syrian kings; in doing so it gives an insight into the degree to which Seleucid domination had pervaded the kingdom. This recent dominance and the newness of the revolution meant that no system other than the enemy's was available to contextualize the revolt itself. The author of 1 Maccabees could never be labelled a Greek, or even a philhellene, but he himself was keenly aware that the Hellenistic dynasties had a direct impact on his life and thought processes.⁵⁷

The situation is rather more difficult when it comes to isolating Roman identity in any of our authors. First, none was a member of the Roman Senate, which in some sense we may think of as the political elite. Syme asked the question, 'were there provincial Senators before Caesar?' and, perhaps optimistically, considered that there may have been.⁵⁸ The very tenuous possibilities are from Spain and Sicily, but no evidence about them is conclusive. Julius Caesar as dictator introduced to the Senate a substantial number of men from Spain and Gallia Narbonensis, though some were probably later removed by Augustus.

Trogus' family connection with the dictator and his geographical origin would have made him well-positioned for advancement in Rome. His uncle is described as a cavalry squadron leader (*patruum Mithridatico bello turmas equitum sub eodem Pompeio duxisse*), which may suggest that the family had equestrian status. Trogus himself was certainly a third-generation Roman citizen. Did he identify with this status? Although the words which survive in the introduction to Book 43 are clearly Justin's, they may well, just like the rest of the text, echo Trogus' original statements. The language used is particularly telling. The redirection of the narrative towards the affairs of

⁵⁷ F. Millar, 'The Background to the Maccabean Revolution: Reflections on Martin Hengel's "Judaism and Hellenism"', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29 (1978), 1–21; T. Rajak, 'The Hasmonaeans and the Uses of Hellenism' in P. R. Davies and R. T. White (eds.), *A Tribute to Geza Vermes* (1990), 261–80; S. J. D. Cohen, 'Religion, Ethnicity and "Hellenism" in the Emergence of Jewish Identity in Maccabean Palestine', in P. Bilde et al. (eds.), *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom* (1990), 204–23.

⁵⁸ R. Syme, *The Provincial at Rome* (1999), 18–25, and for notes on Narbonese senators, 123–4. All relevant references to the primary sources may be found in the notes.

the city of Rome is likened to a homecoming, and the neglect of such affairs is interpreted as the behaviour of an ungrateful citizen.⁵⁹

Diodorus too was, for a time at least, a Roman citizen: the whole of Sicily was enfranchised, first without the vote by Julius Caesar, and then fully in the conflict following his death; and then that status was revoked by Octavian in 36 BC.⁶⁰ Of course, it is fully possible that Diodorus, or nearly any of our other authors, could have been awarded citizenship independently of a mass enfranchisement. As we saw in the previous chapter, it was not particularly unusual for intellectuals to be deemed worthy of honorific bestowals.

It would, however, be an error to judge 'Roman-ness' or any other identity strictly on legal terms. Seeking other concrete methods of identifying affiliation, one might look to residence or cultural assimilation. If we recall how Diodorus praises 'barbarian' rulers who adopt Hellenistic ways, it should not be too surprising to see him do the same with those who adopt Roman patterns. He tell us that 'Contoniatus, chieftain of the Gaulish city called Iontora, was a man of unusual sagacity and military ability, and was a friend and ally of the Roman people. This was natural, as he had previously spent much time in Rome, had come to share their ideals and way of life, and through Rome's support had succeeded to his chieftainship in Gaul' (Diod. 34/5.36). As already mentioned, Diodorus himself resided in Rome, praised it as a location for study, and even learned Latin (1.4.2–4). Yet such extended contact with the city of Rome and Romans again seems to be the exception rather than the rule, among this group of historians.

Unfortunately, scholars have often inflated the significance of the evidence of Posidonius' relationship with Romans and of his travels, similar to what was seen with regard to Nicolaus in the previous chapter. It is important to put the testimony for an author's actual contact with Romans in its correct perspective, so as not to overestimate its impact on their writings. Cicero was, as already mentioned, Posidonius' pupil and remained in

⁵⁹ *ad initia Romanae urbis Trogius veluti post longam peregrinationem domum revertitur, ingrati civis officium existimans, si, cum omnium gentium res gestas intraverit, de sola tantum patria taceat* (43.1.1).

⁶⁰ K. S. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* (1990), 207–10. For internal references to the enfranchisement, see Diod. 13.35.3 and 16.70.6.

contact with him. While Cicero clearly admired him, there is little evidence for Posidonius' opinion of Cicero.⁶¹ Anecdotal stories report how Pompey sought out Posidonius while on Rhodes, and that Posidonius took special care in choosing the words he spoke to him.⁶² These stories do not generally agree on details, though it is possible that they record more than one meeting; they refer to encounters which were amicable in tone, suggesting mutual respect between a great military leader and a great thinker. However, taken at face value, they do not suggest any similarity in their points of view. Support for the idea that Posidonius was an admirer of Pompey is sometimes sought in a confusing passage in Strabo, which may suggest that Posidonius wrote a treatise on him.⁶³ It is known that Posidonius met Marius during his final consulship when he served as an ambassador to Rome for Rhodes; again, there is no suggestion of a harmony between their points of view.⁶⁴

However, the assumed relationship which is often thought to have had the greatest influence on Posidonius' *Histories* is that with P. Rutilius Rufus. He and Posidonius were both students under Panaetius in Athens, presumably at the same time, and in a letter, most probably addressed to Cicero, Posidonius reports a saying of Rutilius.⁶⁵ In book 39 of Posidonius' *Histories*, it was recorded that 'Apicius had overshot all men in prodigality.' Athenaeus, the source of the fragment, explains that Apicius 'was responsible for the exile of Rutilius, the man who had published a *History of Rome* in Greek'.⁶⁶ While I would accept that this indicates that Rutilius' exile was probably discussed by Posidonius, and even that Rutilius may have been his primary source for this particular topic, this is still scanty evidence that Rutilius was Posidonius' primary source and influence for his discussion of Roman politics. This tenuous identification of

⁶¹ T29–33 E-K, and T34 E-K = T9 Jac.

⁶² T35–6 E-K = T8a–8b Jac., T37 E-K, T38–9 E-K = T8b Jac.

⁶³ F79 E-K = T11 Jac. = Strabo 40.1.6. 'Added to that, that he [*i.e.* Posidonius] actually [or, also] wrote up his investigations about him [*i.e.* Pompey]. καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν συνέγραψε [*sc.* ὁ Ποσειδώνιος] τὴν περὶ αὐτόν [*sc.* τὸν Πομπηϊόν]. See Kidd, *Comm.*, 331–2.

⁶⁴ T28 and F255 E-K = T7 and F37 Jac.

⁶⁵ T13 E-K = Cic. *Off.* 3.10. The context in Cicero is a discussion of Panaetius' work.

⁶⁶ F78 E-K = F27 Jac. = Athenaeus 4.168D–E; 'prodigality' = ἀσωτία.

Posidonius' sources is combined with 'deduced'⁶⁷ fragments in Diodorus to conclude that Posidonius did not question the material presented to him by his 'optimate friends' and had a strong bias against equites and reformers, such as the Gracchi.⁶⁸ Even when there have been attempts to debunk the connection between Rutilius Rufus and Posidonius, deduced fragments have been used to do so.⁶⁹

Clearly it would be inappropriate to apply a single label to any of the core authors; like so many of their contemporaries, each has internalized aspects of the changing political geography of the Mediterranean. Local perspectives cannot be wholly separated from Hellenistic influences or Roman interests. However, before trying to decode these multiple perspectives and interpretations of contemporary events which are embedded in the core texts, we must still overcome the problems caused by their partial and fragmentary survival.

Reading the Text

Not one of the core texts survives in its original form, with the possible exception of 1 Maccabees, which may or may not be a translation from a Hebrew original. This means that between us and the intended message of our authors stand any number of filters. These filters, namely later authors, editors, and compilers, have separate objectives from the original historian; and our sampling of the core texts is by no means random. So before establishing the means by which we can decode the opinions and attitudes of the core authors, we need some reassurance that the perspective in question is not that of our transmitting source.

⁶⁷ That is, passages which have been assigned by some modern scholars to Posidonius although there is no statement in the text itself indicating their origin. See below for further discussion on 'deduced' fragments in the section entitled 'Reliquiae'.

⁶⁸ H. Strasburger, 'Poseidonios on Problems of the Roman Empire', *JRS* 55 (1965), 40–53, esp. 40–1. As examples, he cites Jac., no. 87 F 37 (= F255 E-K), 108, 110–11, and 111b.

⁶⁹ M. Griffin, 'Review of J. Malitz, *Die Historien des Poseidonios*', *Gnomon* 57 (1985), 568–70, esp. 569, points out that positive comments on Pompey's youth in Diodorus are hard to reconcile with Rutilius' hostility to Pompey's family. She does, however, express doubts regarding Malitz's blanket appropriation of Diodorus' fragments for Posidonius.

Reliquiae

The difficulties in understanding an author from fragments or epitomes have been carefully examined by Brunt.⁷⁰ He prefers the term *reliquiae* instead of 'fragments', because it reminds us that most are far from exact quotations. Even reliable paraphrases can be deceptive when they cut short the narrative or ignore the original context. He also attempts to provide some idea of the reliability of major sources, and is optimistic about many compilers and extractors. Examples used in polemical writing offer little hope of doing justice to the original text. Similarly, the interests of the reporting author are of primary concern: not surprisingly, entertaining passages are more likely to be transcribed in full. Partly because of this, epitomes cannot be assumed to represent the scope (or at times even the character) of the original work. The *Periochae* of Livy are an excellent example. Kidd, though primarily concerned with Posidonius, emphasizes that it is essential to construct one's understanding of any lost author only from fragments that are attributed by name to that author.⁷¹ He also discusses the need to analyse the context in which the fragment is employed in the source text.

Because of the difficulties of each of the core authors, some further systematization beyond that found in existing scholarship will be useful, but the basic principles derive from the studies just mentioned. First, *reliquiae* can be divided into attested and deductive. Attested *reliquiae* are passages in which the author directly identifies an idea as originating in, or being shared by, another author. Deductive *reliquiae* are passages which a modern scholar through reasonable hypothesis believes to be derived by an author from another work. This second type of *reliquiae* is associated with source criticism or *Quellenforschung*, which will be discussed at the end of this section. Deductive *reliquiae* are excluded from this study so as to avoid circular reasoning.

Left only with attested *reliquiae*, we still face significant difficulties of interpretation. It will help to divide the group further into testimonia and fragments. The working definitions of both are fairly

⁷⁰ P. A. Brunt, 'On Fragments and Epitomes', *CQ* 30 (1980), 477–94.

⁷¹ I. G. Kidd, 'What is a Posidonian Fragment?' in G. W. Most (ed.), *Collecting Fragments. Fragmente Sammeln* (1997), 225–36.

intuitive: one describes passages concerned with the author and the other denotes passages which reflect the text of the author. For both, the primary question when assessing the value of *reliquiae* is what the objectives of the recorder were. The division, however, allows more precise consideration of the types of recorders.

Within the category of testimonia, the objectives of the recorder must be considered alongside the availability of information. At one extreme is self-reporting, where the recorder and the subject are one and the same: access to information poses no problem, but there are obvious questions about the motivation for creating the record. In this category we must place nearly the whole of our knowledge of Nicolaus of Damascus. The middle ground is occupied by contemporary and near-contemporary accounts, where there may have been access to accurate information about the subject, but personal or intellectual motives for falsification are possible. Under this heading, we might consider the evidence of Cicero's letters and speeches or the epigraphic record. At the other end of the spectrum is a late recorder without any personal motivation for distortion, but no stated or obvious reliable source for the information. This classification can apply to late antique reference works such as the *Suda*.

The *Suda* deserves further discussion. This encyclopedic dictionary of the tenth or eleventh century varies radically in accuracy, but is central to our understanding of both Nicolaus and Posidonius. Its testimony on the latter is far from consistent. It lists four different Posidonii, the one of Apamea and Rhodes (2107), one of Alexandria (2108), one of Olbia (2109), and one who wrote about augury from involuntary twitching (2110).⁷² The first two are said to be Stoics, and the first three to be historians. It says that the Apamean was the student of Panaetius, and (incorrectly) that he succeeded him as head of the Athenian school;⁷³ and gives the information about a visit to Rome in the consulship of Marcus Marcellus which is commonly used as a *terminus ante quem* for Posidonius' death. The information about the number of books Posidonius wrote and the relationship of his work to that of Polybius comes under the entry for the Alexandrian, who is said to be the student of Zeno of Citium.

⁷² T1a E-K = T1 Jac.

⁷³ Posidonius taught on Rhodes and was never the head of the school in Athens.

Furthermore, a marginal note in Codex A of the *Suda*'s entry for Polybius says, 'you should know that Posidonius of Olbia, the sophist, followed Polybius' *History*.'⁷⁴ None of this inspires confidence, and the reliability of this testimony is directly relevant to the dating of Posidonius' life and the extent of his works.

The *Suda* seems to have been more accurately informed about Nicolaus than Posidonius, as most of the basic details on his works and political associations are confirmed by other sources. Jacoby's decision to label the bulk of the entry on Nicolaus and the whole of the entry on his father, Antipater, as fragments (F131–2) from the autobiography instead of testimonia is understandable (an example of 'deductive *reliquiae*'). First, the long digression on his upbringing and later educational philosophy directly follows the statement that Nicolaus 'wrote concerning his own life and education'.⁷⁵ Then, within the digression, a sentence on educational philosophy is given in indirect speech (ἐλέγε). Moreover, the general tone is in line with the other attributed fragments of the autobiography; and it is hard to imagine another source for this type of (self-) praise.⁷⁶ However, there are no details which suggest that the description of his training could not have been produced by someone attempting to describe a perfect Aristotelian educational and philosophical foundation. Similarly, the *Suda* entry for his father, Antipater (F131), is short on facts and long on praise of generic virtues such as civic service and religious observance; the only personal information consists of the names of his wife and sons.⁷⁷ However, there is no reason not to accept at least the *Suda*'s entries as apparently reliable testimonia, if not as detailed as one might wish or actually being fragments of Nicolaus' own writing. The *Suda*'s entry contains one very obvious error; it reports the total number of books for the universal history as eighty, while many fragments are attributed to books of higher numbers and the accepted total is 144 (Cf. T11 and F80 = Athen. 6.54.13ff. [p. 249A]). Numbers are highly susceptible to

⁷⁴ T 1b E-K = T12b Jac.

⁷⁵ ἔγραψε καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου βίου καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγωγῆς (Nic. T1).

⁷⁶ Esp. cf. F137.

⁷⁷ That Nicolaus did indeed have a brother named Ptolemaios is confirmed by Josephus (T8).

textual corruption, thus making this a weak point on which to rest any general condemnation of the *Suda's* authority on Nicolaus.

Like testimonia, fragments may also be divided into useful subdivisions. The first split is between intentional, compositional, and referential. The last of these, the referential fragment, is the least reliable. It is the type of fragment found within a narrative constructed by another author. The function of the fragment is usually either as the target of polemic or as supporting evidence. Distortion is likely in both cases: in the former, since the author is intentionally discrediting the fragment, and in the latter, since the author is claiming the authority of his forerunner for his own constructions. However, these fragments tend to be short and therefore have little impact on our overall conception of the character of a fragmentary work, other than identifying another general topic covered.⁷⁸

Compositional and intentional fragments share the distinction of potential reliability, and at points even word-for-word accuracy. This is achieved from either direct copying of the original text or working from notes, though one circumstance which can compromise reliability is an author's unstated use of an intermediate source. The careful methods of reproduction are inspired by an author's desire to represent his source accurately. However, while the author in the case of a collection of intentional fragments has little purpose other than documenting the original text, e.g. the production of an epitome or collection of quotations on a certain theme, compositional fragments are incorporated into the author's own text, which has independent themes and structures. Thus the author's selection process and context may have a distorting effect on even the most literally accurate fragment. Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists* is a prime example;⁷⁹ his interest in food has led to a disproportionately high number of fragments surviving from Posidonius which are concerned with eating and

⁷⁸ Cf. D. S. Williams, 'On Josephus' Use of Nicolaus of Damascus: a Stylometric Analysis of BJ 1,225–273 and AJ 14,280–369', *SCI* 12 (1993), 176–87.

⁷⁹ Essential reading, not just for the detailed treatment of Athenaeus, but also the overall methodology it suggests, is C. Pelling, 'Fun with Fragments: Athenaeus and the Historians', in D. Braund and J. Wilkins (eds.), *Athenaeus and his World* (2000), 171–90, especially the subsections 'Identifying Fragments', 175–80, 'Misrepresentation and Misquotation', 184–8, and 'Appendix: Verbatim quotation?', 188–90. For Athenaeus in his correct context, see the other articles in the same volume.

drinking. Yet his use of notes, and the potential accuracy that suggests, is evident from identical fragments separated by many books.⁸⁰

Intentional fragments represent the vast majority of the surviving texts, and, fortunately, represent the most accurate type of *reliquiae*. In these cases our objective and that of the preserving authors is the same: access to the original text. Of course, there is still much room for error. There are enough variations in intentional fragments to justify a further division at least into epitomes and extracts.

In both epitomes and extracts the primary concern is with what has been left out. At least in the case of the Constantinian extracts, a major source for the fragments of both Nicolaus and Diodorus, this need not cause too much concern.⁸¹ These extracts are the thematically grouped excerpts compiled at the order of the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century under such headings as 'On embassies', 'On vice and virtue', and 'On stratagems'. These Byzantine collections are usually considered reliable reproductions of the original wording, but often start and stop abruptly; this has been confirmed through comparison with historical narratives with independent manuscript traditions. More importantly, because the copyists for each theme searched and reproduced relevant passages systematically for a single work at a time, the order of the extracts reproduces their original order in the texts. Moreover, the beginning of each new extract is almost always clearly marked with the word, *ὅτι*. Thus there is no doubt about the location of lacunae.

Epitomes are the more deceptive of the two types of intentional fragments, in that there is no clear indication of the beginning or end of individual fragments; the epitomator usually attempts to provide a continuous narrative. Moreover, epitomes often blend the wording of the original text with summaries and new transitional sentences.

⁸⁰ F61 a and b E-K = F9 a and b Jac. = Athen. 12.540B-C and Athen. 5.210C-D.

⁸¹ For the historical context of their creation, see A. J. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (1973), esp. 575-605 on his other literary endeavours and commissions. Also of interest is G. L. Huxley, 'The Scholarship of Constantine Porphyrogenitus', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 80 (1980), 29-40, who integrates the extracts with the other projects and interests of the emperor; and still relevant is C. de Boor, 'Zu den Excerptsammlungen des Konstantin Porphyrogenetos', *Hermes* 19 (1884), 123-48.

So although most of any epitome can be assumed to derive from the original text, at no one point can one guarantee that the language is actually from the original. Two epitomators need individual attention: Photius, who gives us all that survives of Memnon of Heraclea, and significant portions of the surviving text of Diodorus on contemporary history; and Justin, an otherwise unknown individual who transmits the main narrative of Trogus.

When Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople during the late ninth century AD (858–67 and 878–86), decided to compile for his brother, Tarsius, a catalogue of books which he had read, he made an effort to record in greater detail those works which were more obscure.⁸² His intention was to provide his audience, ostensibly his brother, with a clear indication of the quality of those works which might be inaccessible. His purpose has succeeded in so far as we, his modern audience, are indebted to him for our information on sixty secular works which would otherwise be lost, and an even greater quantity of religious writings. For Memnon our material has, in fact, been increased because of his obscurity in the latter half of the ninth century. Photius only found eight books of Memnon, and those were numbered 9 to 16 (Phot. *Bibl.* 224). The manuscript he used was most likely in Constantinople, but the *Bibliotheca's* date of composition is unknown, and it is just possible that at least part of it might have been compiled during Photius' exile or another period of travel. While some have speculated that the *Bibliotheca* was composed by means of Photius' near-miraculous memory, it seems extremely unlikely that Photius wrote his detailed epitome of Memnon without the original in front of him.⁸³ The style of his extraction is by no means consistent; he alternates between apparently brief summarization and what seems to be a collage of original sentences and phrases. Photius allowed his own interests to dictate which sections of the *History* received the more detailed treatment, and his interests were clearly in the Roman period. The first six extant books of Memnon,

⁸² W. T. Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius* (1980).

⁸³ On the use of memory by ancient authors and their methods of composition, compare C. Pelling, 'Plutarch's Method of Work in the Roman Lives', *JHS* 99 (1979), 74–96. Also see J. P. Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind* (1997), together with the review article of the same by N. Horsfall, 'Methods of Writing, Memorisation, and Research', *JRA* 11 (1998), 565–71.

9 to 14, fill thirteen pages in Jacoby, while the last two books, 15 to 16, take up nineteen pages. Nevertheless, Photius was not trying to write his own history, but wanted to preserve Memnon in an abbreviated form. From other authors where an original text and Photius' summary have both survived, it seems that Photius' summaries are fairly reliable. It is reasonable to assume that his epitome of Memnon, to whom he gives extra attention, is equally reliable. And it is possible that he even gives us some true fragments of the original in those parts of the work where the amount of detail suggests that Memnon's wording is preserved. However, there may be broad gaps in Photius' summary: for example, it would be very surprising if Memnon had not made mention of Pompey's organization of Pontus and Bithynia, but no trace of a reference to Pompey remains in the epitome. But of course, as with all fragmentary texts and epitomes, it is not possible to create any arguments based on the presumed silence of the author on any topic, the length of treatment of any topic, or even the placement of a topic in the text.

Perhaps the best way to comprehend Photius' methods is through studies of authors for whom we have other sources to use for comparison, most notably Diodorus, one of our other core authors.⁸⁴ For evidence of Photius' use of his own vocabulary, at least in introductory passages, consider the appearance of the post-classical word *λογάδες* to mean 'legions' (Diod. 36.1). Yet for comparison of his work when summarizing rather than copying almost word for word, consider Photius' sections in relation to the Constantinian excerpts from the collection of fragments on the First Sicilian Slave Revolt (Diod. 34/5.2), and also Titus Vettius Minucius' revolt (Diod. 36.2–2a).

Unfortunately, no such checks are available for Justin's approach to Trogus. There is no agreement as to the date of his compilation; any suggestion from the second to the fourth century AD is reasonable.⁸⁵ To describe his work as an 'epitome' is not wholly accurate,

⁸⁴ P. Botteri, *Les Fragments de l'histoire des Gracques dans la Bibliothèque de Diodore de Sicile* (1992), 27–34, reaches the conclusion that the Patriarch reproduced Diodorus accurately. J. Palm, *Über Sprache und Stil des Diodoros von Sizilien* (1955), discusses the relationship of Diodorus' original and Photius' synopsis at length.

⁸⁵ R. Syme, 'The Date of Justin and the Discovery of Trogus', *Historia* 37.3 (1988), 358–71, surveys earlier arguments while proposing c.AD 390. J. M. Alonso-Núñez, *La*

and apparently the word is only evident in the title of one late manuscript. As he says himself in the preface, he plucked out the interesting and useful sections to create what has been called a *florilegium*.⁸⁶ This is easily seen in the varying lengths of his books, the omissions known from the prologues, and the abrupt transitions which at times confuse the narrative.⁸⁷ The available checks are limited. The prologues, which were created by an unknown author of unknown date, seem to offer a concise summary of the contents of the books, but cannot be assumed to contain the wording of Trogus.⁸⁸ There are also other testimonia and fragments which are commonly overlooked. Seel's collection is particularly useful in that it sets out similar passages from a whole range of authors next to Justin's text.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, few of the fragments are directly attributed to Trogus, and even fewer provide information that could not have been taken from Justin.

Justin as an epitomator cannot be assumed to have the same credibility as the canonical Byzantine scholars. One may accept that by far the greatest portion of the text is taken directly from Trogus, as Justin makes every effort to credit the original authorship to his source, not just in his preface, but also in a few points in the history itself. The difficulty is identifying Justin's selection process and the intrusions of his own commentary. By analysing those few points where Justin's authorship is clear, it is possible to identify further areas in which his voice may be found. Similarly, his own testimony is the primary guide to his criteria for inclusion, augmented by comparison with the anonymous prologues.

Historia Universal de Pompeyo Trogo (1992), 23–7, esp. n. 2 gives a brief summary and an up-to-date bibliography. J. C. Yardley, (trans.) and R. Develin (intro. and notes), *Justin: Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (1994), 4, preserve a healthy scepticism.

⁸⁶ *horum ... quattuor et quadraginta voluminum ... cognitione quaeque dignissima excerpti et omissis his quae nec cognoscendi voluptate iucunda nec exemplo erant necessaria brevis veluti florum corpusculum feci*. For further discussion, see F. R. D. Goodyear, 'On the Character and Text of Justin's Compilation of Trogus', *The Proceedings of the African Classical Associations* 16 (1982), 1–24.

⁸⁷ For a list of the omissions and some discussion, see J. M. Alonso-Núñez, *La Historia Universal de Pompeyo Trogo* (1992), 27–46.

⁸⁸ F. Lucidi, 'Nota ai Prologi delle Historiae Philippicae di Pompeo Trogo', *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* 17 (1975), 173–80.

⁸⁹ O. Seel (ed.), *Pompeius Trogus Fragmenta* (1956).

The best point of departure is Justin's prologue. Comprising only thirty lines of the Teubner edition, it is arguably the longest passage of the epitomator's own composition and the only point where he overtly claims personal authorship and identity. Here is the self-representation which Justin wanted to give to posterity. The first eighteen lines are dedicated to description and praise of Trogus' project. The remaining text speaks directly to a single unnamed individual, the second person singular being used repeatedly. However, in the last sentence he refers to future generations who may appreciate his labour, which betrays his intention to disseminate the text beyond the initial audience of one. Likewise, while talking about his intentions, he divides his possible audience between those who have studied history in Greek and those who have not, again suggesting that he hoped for a wide readership. It is likely that Justin conceived of this passage as a permanent preface, not just a covering letter. It is worthwhile to provide the few sentences in which Justin discusses his own project:

During a period of free time, which we had in the city, I excerpted from his forty-four published volumes all the most noteworthy material. I omitted what did not make pleasurable reading or serve to provide a moral, and I produced a brief anthology to refresh the memory of those who had studied in Greek, and to provide instruction for those who had not. (*Trog. praef. 4*)⁹⁰

This provides four criteria, not mutually exclusive, for his selection process, as well as suggesting areas in which Justin might want to speak out personally to reinforce his own objectives. For the moment, I set aside the qualities of being 'noteworthy' and 'pleasurable', as too ambiguous to withstand textual analysis. On the other hand, moralizing passages are readily identifiable, and it is equally possible to identify passages which typify the topics of traditional Greek studies.

One might argue that this second quality is meaningless in that nearly the whole of the epitome could be thus described. Yet the very beginning of the preface focuses closely on the 'Greekness' of Trogus' project. While Romans have written their own history in Greek, he

⁹⁰ I have deleted the word 'history' from Yardley's translation, between 'studied' and 'in Greek', as there is no corresponding noun in the Latin.

wrote Greek history in Latin. Justin goes on to describe Trogus' universality and completeness. In this context, one might suggest that the correct interpretation of 'Greek history' is not 'the history of Hellenic peoples', but instead 'history as is commonly written in Greek', which if we consider such figures as Herodotus or Ephorus had a much wider scope. One might suggest that Justin was particularly conscious of, and even attracted by, the non-Roman character of Trogus' history. Moreover, he desired to emphasize this very attribute to his own audience. It is no coincidence that a comparison of the prologues with the text reveals that Justin skimmed or eliminated passages on Rome. This is not to say that the prologues give the impression of a Romano-centric text—far from it. But it appears that Justin may have helped to emphasize the suppression of Roman affairs. He completely removed references to the Illyrian war (*Prol.* 28), Manlius' campaigns against the Galatians (*Prol.* 32), Antony's battles in Cilicia (*Prol.* 39), and various Roman generals' interventions in Egyptian politics (*Prol.* 40). Elsewhere, he obviously truncated the narrative of Roman conflicts, such as the Macedonian and Achaean Wars (books 33–4). Obviously, such corruption of the balance of focus within the text could create serious doubts regarding our ability to reconstruct Trogus' own narrative objectives.

Whether the concept of decoding Greek history for a Latin-speaking audience originated with Justin or was just accentuated by him, it finds echoes later in the text as well. For example, the author stops the narrative at one point to explain the Greek military custom by which the designating of a herald to reclaim bodies for burial was an accepted acknowledgement of defeat (6.6.9–10). Such comments clearly distance both author and reader from the Hellenic past. As we shall see, Justin was not averse to inserting asides and glosses into the text, but as this particular one is so well integrated with the surrounding narrative, it seems best to weigh the probability of its authorship in favour of Trogus himself.

Moving on to the second of Justin's selection criteria, didacticism, like 'Greekness', seems to pervade the epitome. It is difficult to find a narrative without a moralizing point—even the geographical digression on Sicily instructs the reader to beware of aetiological myths (4.1). Develin has argued that Trogus' original text was characterized by this strong authorial voice of judgement and morality; in this he

finds a justification for bestowing on the work the title 'Philippic', as such observations are supposed to have been characteristic of Theopompus.⁹¹ However, one cannot turn the supposition on its head and claim that because the work bears the title 'Philippic' it must have been moralizing. In fact, the prologues betray no hint of such a style. This is not to suggest that the passages in the epitome were not in the original history. Instead, one must just consider the possibility that their force has been slightly altered by the selection process and that concluding or transitional passages which emphasize the 'message' of the surrounding text may contain Justin's interpretation instead of Trogus'. Consider, for example, the line which follows a description of Xerxes' and Ariamenes' cordial settlement of their inheritance dispute: 'So much more reasonable were brothers then in apportioning huge empires between themselves than they are now when they split up a paltry estate' (Trogus 2.10.11). This direct comparison between the distant past and contemporary life is deeply unusual in the epitome. While we can never know if the 'nunc' here refers to the Augustan era of Trogus or the late empire of Justin, the latter's intrusion, given his clearly stated agenda, must at this and similar points be considered a real possibility.

In order to gain a better idea of the types of interjections Justin might have made, we can briefly survey those indisputable points at which he speaks in his own words in the body of the epitome. First, there is the anachronism at 41.5.8 where he compares the Parthian use of the name Arsaces for their king to the Roman use of Caesar and Augustus. This passage is fairly unremarkable, except for the fact that it illustrates how readily Justin intrudes on his narrative to provide glosses.

The other points at which we may be confident of hearing Justin's own voice are when he speaks about his own project and its relationship to Trogus'. These are transitional points in the narrative. In introducing Mithridates' speech against the Romans, Justin suddenly uses the first person singular (38.3.11). He tells us that he judged this speech worthy of inclusion just as it was originally written, and goes

⁹¹ R. Develin, 'Pompeius Trogus and Philippic History', *Sstor* 8 (1985), 110–15. His argument is based heavily on the evidence in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' letter to C. Pompeius. Develin considers it a distinct possibility that this letter was sent to Trogus himself.

on to explain that the indirect speech is taken over from Trogus himself, who criticized Sallust and Livy for composing orations in direct discourse for historical figures. If Justin finds it necessary to state explicitly that this speech is included in its original form, does he imply that everywhere else modification was his standard practice? This would be worrying for anyone hoping to recapture Trogus' own perspective. Some comfort can, however, be derived from the second half of his statement. Indirect discourse was considered a hallmark of Trogus' style, and throughout the epitome all speech is thus presented. In book 43 the voice of Justin is suggested by the presentation of Trogus again in the third person, as the author whose work is being reconfigured, first in the introduction of this digression on early Roman history, and then in the closing passage which gives personal details of Trogus' origins. However, this may simply be Justin's means of reformulating Trogus' own personal explanations.

Justin was a self-conscious abbreviator. His objective was not only to transmit certain themes as they appeared in Trogus, but to produce a whole composition which presented to a well-conceived audience a moralizing Greek history, extracted from the admirable work of Trogus. This desire to produce a finished product in its own right forced Justin to create an internal structure for the passages which he selected. It should not be surprising that the tone of the transitional passages within the text harmonizes so well with the themes laid out in the preface. Moreover, Justin's conception of an audience forced him to 'interpret' the text in the terms and vocabulary of his own society.⁹² Yet he believed in the value of the source which he selected, discussing him in admiring terms not only in the preface but in the body of the text as well. It is obvious from the close correspondence to the structure of the prologues that Justin composed with a copy of Trogus' text in front of him. As those who have attempted to date Justin more closely have found, the vast bulk of the vocabulary and style in the epitome is Augustan, suggesting that he carried over most of the narrative which pleased him as he found it.

⁹² One might assume that this same principle would make Justin especially conscious of phrases which were intended to refer to the present day. Unfortunately, such phrases give little insight into Justin's perspective or time period. From a survey of the use of *nunc*, it is clear that all such instances are so banal that any point in the Roman Empire would suffice; see 2.10.11; 4.1.16; 7.1.5; 15.2.9; 43.1.2, 5, 7; 44.3.3.

There is no suggestion that he added any additional information from outside sources. Thus with a greater sensitivity to the hand of Justin, it is safe to say that the text of the epitome is a fair, if at times brief, representation of Trogu's treatment of the subjects covered therein.

Authorial Voice

These preliminaries have been necessary in order to explain how it is possible to find the authorial voice of the core authors in the texts as they survive. It has been suggested that, within limits, the transmission of the *reliquiae* has not dramatically changed the ideas of the original texts. This leaves two remaining methodological hurdles: How do we know that what the core authors wrote was their own work? And where can the authorial voice be found in the individual texts?

The first of these questions involves setting aside a mass of literature on the sources for these historians. Above I made reference to *Quellenforschung* in relation to deductive *reliquiae*. This label is generally applied to all scholarship which makes inquiries into the probable sources used by historians who write about subjects beyond their personal experience.⁹³ Diodorus has been the subject of particular attention of this sort. In the hope of recovering as much of his source material as possible, some scholars have tended to dismiss Diodorus' contribution to his work.⁹⁴ This is particularly clear when considering certain scholarship on Posidonius, much of

⁹³ More general scholarship on this methodology includes R. van Compernelle, 'Quelques réflexions sur l'emploi de la *Quellenforschung*', in M. A. Arnould *et al.* (eds.), *Histoire et méthode* (1981), 9–13, who warns against seeking alternative sources (let alone historical fact) behind variations in historical narratives which may arise from intentional distortion to fit a particular political perspective; and also the more optimistic J. Desanges, 'Du bon usage d'Agatharchide ou de la nécessité de la *Quellenforschung*', in *Geographica historica: textes réunis par Pascal Arnaud et Patrick Counillon* (1998), 69–82.

⁹⁴ R. Drews, 'Diodorus and his Sources', *AJPhil.* 83 (1962), 383–92, and C. R. Rubincam, 'Diodorus and his Sources', *Harv. Stud.* 75 (1971), 205–7. A much-needed corrective discussion is offered by K. S. Sacks, 'Diodorus and his Sources: Conformity and Creativity', in S. Hornblower (ed.), *Greek Historiography* (1994), 213–32. A succinct defence of Diodorus' originality is found in Chamoux's introduction to the Budé edition, esp. pp. xviii–xxxii.

which reattributes large sections of Diodorus to the philosopher,⁹⁵ though in recent years there has been a scholarly shift in work on Diodorus.⁹⁶ Trogus has also been affected by this trend, often being seen as a Latin translation of lost Greek historians.⁹⁷ It must be stressed that the study of an author's sources of information, and even the acknowledgement that at times he faithfully reproduced their work, does not invalidate the study of the author as a significant historian in his own right, one who was capable of formulating his own opinions and expressing them in his text.

The explicit use of sources, such as Diodorus makes transparent, is an asset to an investigation of an author's own point of view, in that for most authors the influences on their thought processes can only be guessed at. However, one should not confuse influence with equivalence. To illustrate with an example from the same period, it is important to know that Cicero's treatise *de Officiis* was influenced by the Stoic work of a similar name in Greek, *Περὶ Καθήκοντος*, by Panaetius,⁹⁸ but it would be wholly erroneous to think that the head of the Stoic school at Athens would have composed a document so embedded in Roman Republican ideology. Likewise, Diodorus' reliance on Posidonius for the First Sicilian Slave Revolt (and most probably for the Second as well) helps to explain some of the philosophical motifs in the narrative, but it is only logical to think that Diodorus contributed his personal understanding of Sicily, his home, to the account.

Such studies on the potential sources of a historian have a more limited value for inquiries into the texts of those historians who give no internal evidence for their sources. It is, of course, a useful mental exercise to consider the possible methods of composition available to any ancient historian, but in most cases modern scholarship must remain in the realm of possibilities instead of probabilities. The rare

⁹⁵ W. Theiler, *Poseidonios, Die Fragmente* (1982), and J. Malitz, *Die Historien des Poseidonios* (1983).

⁹⁶ K. S. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* (1990) and D. Ambaglio, *La Biblioteca Storica di Diodoro Siculo* (1995).

⁹⁷ L. Santi Amantini, *Fonti e valore storico di Pompeo Trogo (Justin, 35–36)* (1972); E. Salomone, *Fonti e valore storico di Pompeo Trogo (Justin, 38.8–40)* (1973); and G. Forni, *Valore storico e fonti di Pompeo Trogo* (1958).

⁹⁸ Cic. Att. 420.4 SB = 16.11.4.

exceptions are where both the original and a source survive to allow detailed comparison.⁹⁹ However, much of the difficulty of considering the historian's access to information on the distant past is overcome in this study simply by limiting the inquiry to the period of living memory.

Now that we can, with due caution, treat the surviving texts as preserving to a certain degree the ideas of the core authors, it remains only to determine to what extent we can infer attitudes and perspectives from documents claiming to represent facts. Part of the historians' ability to embed their own perspectives into the texts derives from the associations of the genre with didacticism. Diodorus explicitly says, 'I shall make mention of certain men to serve as models, both because they merit my praise and for the good it does to society, in order that the denunciations of History may lead the wicked to turn from their evil course, and the praises that its enduring glory confers may persuade the good to aspire to high standards of conduct' (Diod. 37.4).¹⁰⁰ The intended usefulness of the historical genre challenged the author not just to narrate a series of events, but through their narration to direct the audience to the most appropriate interpretation of the significance of certain events. A further reflection of the genre's association with didacticism can also be seen in history's close relation to other forms of ancient prose writing which are linked with persuasion and education, such as oratory and philosophical treatises.

Extracting authorial beliefs is no new challenge in the field of historiography,¹⁰¹ but as with *reliquiae*, it is possible to develop

⁹⁹ D. A. W. Biltcliffe, 'P. Ox. No. 2330 and its Importance for the Study of Nicolaus of Damascus', *Rh. Mus.* 112 (1969), 85–93, studies Nicolaus' modifications to a passage of Ctesias.

¹⁰⁰ Also consider Diod. 38/9.18, and in a narrative context, Diod. 34/5.9, which discusses those who ate the sacred fish (presumably the revolting slaves had eaten the fish in the fountain at Arethusa sacred to Artemis): 'And since in keeping with the retribution visited on them by the gods they have also received abuse in the pages of history, they have indeed reaped a just reward.'

¹⁰¹ T. J. Luce, 'Tacitus' Conception of Historical Change: the Problem of Discovering the Historian's Perspective', in I. S. Moxon, J. D. Smart, and A. J. Woodman (eds.), *Past Perspectives: Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing* (1986), 143–57; J. Marincola, *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography* (1997); K. Clarke, 'In Search of the Author of Strabo's Geography', *JRS* 87 (1997), 92–110; and J. Davidson, 'The Gaze in Polybius', *JRS* 81 (1991), 10–24.

useful classifications for the different types of relevant passages. Three broad categories cover most intrusions of authorial perspective into the narrative: (1) explicit value judgements, where something or someone is described in positive or negative terms; (2) implicit value judgements, where the author makes a point of connecting cause and effect so as to demonstrate what behaviours are desirable or abhorrent; and finally, (3) the selection of material, thus limiting the range of information available to the audience and directing their thinking towards certain priorities.

These three methods are listed in ascending order of difficulty for analysis. Value-charged language is easily identified, but an author may not have a consistent portrayal of an individual or a certain behaviour pattern. In fragmentary texts it is often difficult to identify the whole set of circumstances which provoked the author to a certain response. Similarly with implicit judgements, fragmentary texts often separate the cause and effect, and at times the author may even leave one half of the formula to be assumed by the reader. One of the dangers is identifying passages in a fragmentary text in which the author is attempting to formulate a characterization and thereby convey an evaluation. The lack of extended context reduces our ability to identify the criteria by which the author is presenting positive and negative judgements. It is tempting to apply general cultural standards of the period or those gleaned from other contemporary authors. This is not necessarily an inaccurate approach, but the introduction of such assumptions from outside the text itself seriously reduces the confidence of the final assessment.

Two examples from Nicolaus will help to illustrate the difficulties in identifying authorial characterizations. One fragment reports on Mithridates (F73) and the other on Sulla (F75). The former discusses the establishment of a contest of eating and drinking which the king himself won; the latter tells of Sulla's love of comedy and grants of land to jesters and mimes. Both gluttony and indulgence in the theatrical arts are frowned upon in most Hellenistic culture, and there are multiple examples of disparaging remarks on such behaviour from the historians discussed here. The typical nature of such *topoi* in derogatory characterizations suggests that it is likely that each fragment indicates a more general trend within Nicolaus' portrayal of Mithridates and Sulla. However, it would be imprudent

to use this assumption to interpret further passages from Nicolaus' text.

Another common error is allowing the interests of the extractor to represent the themes of the original text. This can arise, for instance, in fragments taken from works such as Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*, which selected passages on food, drinking, luxuries, and extravagance, or the collections compiled under Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

One example of such an inappropriate transfer is found in Malitz's work on Posidonius when he applies Athenaeus' context for a fragment on Scipio's frugality while serving as ambassador (F265 E–K), namely the virtue of 'old Romans', back to Posidonius.¹⁰² Kidd in his commentary points out that Scipio could hardly qualify as an 'old Roman' to Posidonius, as he was only from the preceding generation, a contemporary of his own teacher. Malitz understands the passage to mean that Scipio embodies the traditional Roman characteristics which allowed the Romans to become a dominant power, and by practising their traditional lifestyle he helps to strengthen and preserve Roman world rule. It is a clever reading, clearly influenced by the end of Diodorus' corresponding passage (33.28b), and as Malitz accepts this as derived from Posidonius, there is no conflict in his own logic. Unfortunately, it is clear that the discussion of old Roman virtue, though known elsewhere in the attested fragments, is part of Athenaeus' own construction, not Posidonius' text.

The themes of the Constantinian excerpts are also especially liable to suggest areas of interest. For example, before concluding that Diodorus was making a silent but pointed statement on the character of Roman aggression in this period from the high number of passages which record Rome's use of traitors to gain military victories, it is necessary to check that such passages are not from the volume, 'On stratagems', alone. In this case, such passages on traitors can be found in nearly all the fragment sources, suggesting that this was actually a notable theme in the original work.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the presence of examples in other sources which would fit

¹⁰² J. Malitz, *Die Historien des Poseidonios* (1983), 90–1.

¹⁰³ 33.21 = *Const. Exc.* 3, 205–6; 34/5.2.21 = *Phot. Bibl.* 384–6B; 34/5.23 = *Const. Exc.* 2 (1), 308–9; 34/5.39 = *Const. Exc.* 1, 407–8; 36.2.6 = *Const. Exc.* 3, 208; 36.3.5–6 = *Phot. Bibl.* 387–9; 37.18 = *Const. Exc.* 4, 398–9; and cf. 37.22b = *Const. Exc.* 3, 209–10.

under one of the Constantinian themes, but are not duplicated there, warns us against considering those collections to be complete. In other words, we cannot assume we have all the original references to the Romans' using traitors from Diodorus' work.

However, the greatest pitfall is trying to construct an argument from silence without the whole text; and even with a complete text, judgements based on the selection of material are still based on assumptions regarding the information available to the author.

The final challenge comes when trying to ascertain the historian's opinion on any one matter that occurs in reported speech or thought. From the earliest period, historical writing balanced words and deeds, *λόγοι* and *πράξεις*. The reasons for this have been traced to the new genre's thematic connections with the well-established traditions of epic and drama,¹⁰⁴ or alternatively to the philosophical conception of man as a rational being whose deeds can be understood through an analysis of the thought- and decision-making processes which precede any action.¹⁰⁵ In the political sphere, those processes were encapsulated in the orations of the ruling class. The accuracy of these speeches is often debated, usually beginning with the work of Thucydides. A crude summary of this complex issue could assert that most historians used what information was available regarding what was said on any given occasion (however minimal) to help them create speeches which they felt were appropriate to the situation and the speaker, and which harmonized with the objectives of their compositions. The ancient historians themselves debated the appropriate use of these reconstructed orations, but rarely questioned their inclusion: Diodorus felt they should not be allowed to interrupt or dominate the narrative (20.1), and Trogus found indirect speech less presumptuous than the first-person orations of Sallust and Livy (38.3.11).

¹⁰⁴ E. Keitel, 'Homeric Antecedents to the Cohortatio in Ancient Historians', *CW* 80 (1987), 153–72.

¹⁰⁵ F. W. Walbank, 'Speeches in Greek Historians', *The Third J. L. Myres Memorial Lecture* (1970), 1–2. K. S. Sacks, 'Rhetoric and Speeches in Hellenistic Historiography', *Athenaeum* 64 (1986), 383–95, esp. 383–4, emphasizes the importance of an author's production of works in several genres to the general rhetorical quality of his writing, as well as to the speeches he includes. This is surely true, but need not be interpreted as a motivation for including speeches themselves, or a general cause for this feature of history writing.

What was the function of speeches in history? As already suggested, they could explain actions, or they could provide literary variety. But they could also be used to further character development, emphasize the historical importance of the event which precedes or follows the speech, or expound a historical opinion, rationale, or judgement.¹⁰⁶ In looking at speeches to grasp either the author's view of the opinion expressed therein or his characterization of the speaker, it is important to remember that no clear answer need be found or should be expected. Humans are frequently inconsistent and that inconsistency is often portrayed in historical writing, consciously or unconsciously, by the author. Moreover, opinions should not be divorced from their original context. As a historian composed, he interwove his thoughts and those of others in the chronological framework, and without that framework they become meaningless. Finally, the beliefs and ideas recorded by ancient historians, whether they agreed with them or not, were part of contemporary ideology.¹⁰⁷ An insight into the scope of that ideology is far more valuable than any speculation as to the personal beliefs of any one author.

¹⁰⁶ N. P. Miller, 'Dramatic Speech in Roman Historians', *G&R* 22 (1975), 45–57, analyses Sallust, Caesar, Livy, and Tacitus, but in doing so effectively illustrates the various narrative applications of oratory and indirect speech.

¹⁰⁷ These last points are eloquently expressed in relation to a single historian by T. J. Luce, 'Tacitus' Conception of Historical Change', 143–57.

Constructing the Narrative: Authorial Objectives and the Use of Rome

In the contemporary histories of the Late Republic written by non-Romans we can find preserved the attitudes of those dispossessed of their power by the establishment of Roman hegemony. The historical texts themselves, like any intellectual product, have a distinctive form and finite dimensions. The genre employed by each author and the individual structural choices reflect the nature of the historian's objectives and political position. Choices regarding the integration of Rome into the narrative structure are of particular significance.

Often two categories have been recognized in Hellenistic historical writing: universal history and local chronicles. There is nothing inaccurate with these categories, as they serviceably describe a vast majority of the surviving texts. However, for our purposes it is important to note that these labels describe subject matter and not the structure of the narrative. Four of our historians, Posidonius, Diodorus, Trogus, and Nicolaus, write variations on universal history, although the actual scope of their texts varies. The other two, the author of 1 Maccabees and Memnon, deal with affairs on a more limited scale, but their objectives are also very different from one another. Yet given the predominance of scholarly discussions on the phenomenon of universal history, it is prudent to say a few words on how this trend towards composing narratives on a global scale may be a manifestation of authorial objectives before looking at structural models, and the core texts themselves.

Universal History, or 'The Herculean Labour'

Within the writings of three of the core authors—Trogus, Nicolaus, and Diodorus—we find Hercules being used as a mythological analogy for the task of composing a universal history. The aspects of the myth which appealed to each historian help illustrate their own self-conceptions of their projects:

For since most authors who record the affairs of individual kings or peoples consider their work to be an arduous labour, then ought not we to consider Pompeius to have approached the boldness of Hercules in taking on the whole world, he in whose books are encompassed the affairs of every period, king, nation and people? (Justin, *praef.* 3).¹

So Nicolaus applied himself to the matter to a still greater extent, gathering together the whole of history, and in undertaking the great work could do no other; lovingly labouring for a long time, he finished the labour and said that if Eurystheus had set this task for Hercules, it would have violently worn him out. (Nic. F135)

Diodorus also alludes to a connection between his own efforts at composing a universal history and the labours of Hercules; for him it is not only the burdensome nature of his task, but also its benefits to mankind and ability to achieve fame, which are comparable to the hero's.² By contrast, Nicolaus identifies himself with Hercules as one obliged to carry out tiring works at the whim of another, although elsewhere he attempted to distance himself from his subservient position. Justin's language regarding Trogus' heroic connection, which we cannot be sure derives from Trogus himself, is curious in that it does not highlight the intensity or burden of production, but instead the *audacia*. How exactly can universal history be 'daring'? Is it the presumption that one man could cover the whole of human experience? Is it the difficulty of composing during politically turbulent times?

Whatever the answer, it is not the diversity of the core authors' use of Hercules, but the similarity of metaphor that is in fact striking. With so few points of convergence between the core authors, it seems important to inquire why Hercules was such a popular patron of the

¹ I have supplied a slightly more literal translation than that given by Yardley.

² Diod. 1.2.4, 1.3.1; J. Marincola, 'Odysseus and the Historians', *Histos* 1 (1997) [<http://www.dur.ac.uk/Classics/histos/1997/marincola.html>].

global narrative. Reviewing briefly the myth of the hero, we may regard the geographical pattern of the labours as suggestive. Although six are firmly rooted in the Peloponnese, the other half reach out to the ends of the earth and beyond—at least in the conception of early classical civilization. They are, to the north, Diomedes' horses, to the south, the Cretan bull, to the east, the Amazon queen, and to the west, Geryon's cattle. Only the Hesperides and Hades could be considered beyond these limits. This spread tallies well with the theme of these universal historians, who claim to reach the boundaries of habitation, but still kept the central focus on the Hellenic world. Hercules was also often used in contemporary philosophical discussions, especially among the Stoics, which may have made him seem an appropriate selection.³ It also goes without saying that these texts, in their original form, were much longer than standard historical compositions, making a patron associated with tasks of seeming impossibility a logical selection.

However, we must ask what makes a universal history, or global narrative, and on what grounds may these authors be grouped together? It is possible to distinguish two general types of universalism, which are not mutually exclusive. They have been termed quantitative and qualitative universalism.⁴ Simply put, a text might be universal either because of its scale and diversity of subject matter, or because of the use of a unifying theme to draw distant times or places together. Ephorus is usually classified as a universalist and can be taken as an example of a quantitative approach. Polybius claims to be the first to be truly capable of writing universal history, as it was in his lifetime that the events of the whole world were brought into common connection by Rome; he excludes earlier history from before the period of world unification. His thematic approach and regular self-assessment make him the archetypal example of the qualitative method. Thus, the definition of universalism need not require an ancient author to claim to cover all of time and space, but instead identifies those texts which reflect a breadth of interest beyond the vantage point of a single state or event.

³ For the topos of Heracles' labours as an *exemplum* of courageous conduct in Stoic thought, see Cic. *Off.* 3.25 and *Fin.* 3.66.

⁴ K. S. Sacks, *Polybius on the Writing of History* (1980), 96–121.

The universalists among our core authors each found their own harmonious balance between quantitative and qualitative methodologies. While Nicolaus composed a work of unprecedented length, 144 books, all three others also produced manuscripts of great length. They also abandoned a strict model of political and military events and widened their subject matter to include mythological, ethnographic, and geographical information. Although each was self-conscious about the act of composition and quite possibly identified their own unifying themes, the fragmented nature of their texts makes any blanket statements or ambitious reconstructions regarding their selection of unifying themes erroneous. In each Rome played a role, but a variety of other contemporary ideas, such as Stoicism or the theory of successive world empires, are also evident.⁵

It is useful to recall that these four authors, Posidonius, Diodorus, Trogus, and Nicolaus, are not just global in their textual perspective, but also in their lifestyle, just like those intellectuals highlighted in chapter one. It is nearly impossible to associate any one of these universal historians with just one city or cultural heritage. Each resided for some time in cities beyond that in which he originated, and also travelled throughout the Mediterranean and beyond. They studied alongside men from every corner of the known world. In the vast libraries of Alexandria, Rome, and other cities they trawled through manuscripts on every topic then known to man. This broad exposure informed their literary style, and all except Diodorus are known to have composed works other than history.

This degree of travel was made possible by each individual's resources, both wealth to underwrite the costs of passage and subsistence and status so as to integrate with the intellectual elite of the places they visited and to gain access to facilities such as private libraries and to lectures. However, such freedom of travel and intellectual exchange was also a product of the cultural climate. The origins of this climate of free and continuous interaction may be loosely linked with political developments, which were not necessarily dependent on Rome. Instead, it seems to be connected with the

⁵ A. Momigliano, 'The Origins of Universal History' *ASNP* 12 (1982), 533–630 [= Momigliano, *Settimo contributo*, 77–103].

world of Alexander's successors, where diverse peoples could find common ground in the dissemination of Hellenic culture and the widening acceptance of Greek as a *lingua franca*, and the relative political stability of the broad empires allowed the cities to redirect their energies to projects for civic improvement, often associated with intellectual pursuits.

As was discussed in the introductory chapter, this model was already in place before the arrival of Rome, and it should not be surprising to see Rome treated again and again like an Eastern Dynasty. Rome's primary contribution to the horizons of contemporary intellectuals was a widening of an interest in Western affairs, but even this process began with a Greek writer, Timaeus, before Rome had gained influence in the East. I would suggest that the global characteristics so evident in these four authors' texts have as much to do with their education in an elite, mobile, and diverse intellectual culture, as with the emergence of a Roman world empire.

As an aside, we may also note that the two local chroniclers appear to have been on the fringes of not only the Roman world, but also the sphere of Hellenistic intellectual exchange. Thus they reflect the patterns, but did not necessarily contribute to the wider discussion.

In the universal histories, the treatment of the Roman empire is clearly influenced by the global perspectives of their authors, which allowed them to see Rome from many different angles and convey some of those diverse points of view to their audience. The prevalence of this genre of history writing during the development of Roman domination has led many to see political motivations in the genre itself. One working theory about the popularity of universal history writing at the end of the Republic and during the Augustan age has argued for a correlation between Roman claims for universal dominion and documentation of that hegemony with a global perspective. However, we should not go so far as to say that it is a necessary precondition of universal history that it accepts Roman claims to dominance over the whole of the known world. In fact, the sword may cut both ways.

By orientating Rome within a wider framework, the author may suggest the fallacy of such claims, most easily by illustrating the chronological extent of pre-Roman history, but also by drawing

attention to regions yet untouched, or at least unconquered, by Roman forces. Trogus presents this approach in the most direct terms, saying that ‘today the Parthians rule the East, the world being partitioned, as it were, between them and the Romans . . . The Parthians were also beset by the Romans in three wars, during which they faced the greatest generals of Rome when she was at the height of her power, and of all the people in the world they alone emerged not just on equal terms but as victors’ (41.1.1 and 7). Note here the clear dialogue on the concept of universalism; the vocabulary is dominated by references to the totality of the globe and the peoples inhabiting it.

We might find a parallel for this type of gentle contradiction to Rome’s claims to universal dominion in Nicolaus’ writings. Nicolaus does not allow Rome to be chronologically universal in his history, and it seems that he did not find the Roman empire to be geographically universal. He traces Rome from its beginnings, but he does not allow these beginnings to coincide with the start of the history itself, nor does Rome appear to serve any organizational function in the text. The earliest mention of the city comes in book seven with a surviving fragment of the story of Romulus and Remus (F69–70). The Trojan war was covered in book three (F14), but there is no way of knowing whether he chose to include the myth of Aeneas and his connection to Rome in this earlier part of the histories. In the eulogizing prologue to the *Life of Caesar Augustus*, he surveys the extent of the territory controlled by Rome (F125). It is bigger than any ruled before by either the Romans or anyone else, including new territories beyond the knowledge of the civilized world, but global statements are absent and the existence of areas left untouched is clearly suggested. In another composition, Nicolaus includes the embassy from India to show in part how far the fame of Augustus had spread, but the very existence of those far-off exotic lands debunks the myth that Rome encompassed everything (F100). And, in the *Life of Caesar Augustus*, he makes the following statement upon the assassination of Julius Caesar:

The body of Caesar lay just where it fell, ignominiously stained with blood—a man who had advanced westward as far as Britain and the Ocean, and who had intended to advance eastward against the realms of the Parthians and

Indi, so that, with them also subdued, an empire of all land and sea might have been brought under the power of a single head. (Nic. F130.26)

While this statement indicates the ambition for world domination, at least in the person of the Dictator, the assassination itself cuts short this reality. Augustus receives honours from the Far East, but never subdues those distant lands into a single empire.

The standard explanation for the flourishing of universal history during the age of Augustus ties the extent of the empire to the scope of the compositions. Claims to a global empire permeate Roman iconography and political discourse, and this must have influenced in some way the authors of the period. However, it appears that Nicolaus' reaction to these claims was to compose with the idea of universalism in mind, but to orientate Rome inside his own conception of the world, instead of vice versa.

While Rome was perhaps a partial, if not always primary, catalyst for composition in the case of most global narratives of the period, just as the city itself was the instigator of widespread political change, such broad generalizations regarding the motivations behind this manifestation of the historical genre should not be made.⁶ Universalism, with its antecedents in classical writers, started to include Roman history over a century and a half before Augustus, and its manifestations are diverse.⁷ Even in the Late Republic and early Principate the core authors demonstrate the ability to conceive of a universal history in which Rome is not the only or even principal focus of the narrative. The most productive way of decoding the 'political' choice of genre for each author is to analyse the location of the Roman state within the author's conception of the world. This requires moving away from strictly contemporary events to observe the chronological as well as the spatial extent of the empire. Does the author trace Rome from its humble beginnings or ignore the state until it intrudes on international affairs? Does the author equate the boundaries of the empire with the boundaries of the world? Is a global perspective employed to minimize or magnify Rome?

⁶ K. Clarke, 'Universal Perspectives in Historiography', in C. S. Kraus (ed.), *The Limits of Historiography* (1999), 249–79.

⁷ J. M. Alonso-Núñez, 'The Emergence of Universal Historiography from the 4th to the 2nd Centuries BC', in H. Verdin, G. Schepens, and E. de Keyser (eds.), *Purposes of History* (1990), 173–92.

To conduct such a survey we must have a clear idea of the narrative structure employed by the individual authors. The division between local chronicles and universal history is one of subject matter, not structure. Thus alternative terminology and grouping are needed for our discussion of the place of Rome within the narrative structures. Generally speaking, the organizational principles of a historical narrative with only one sphere of action present few difficulties. They can follow a sequential pattern with periodic digressions, such as: '...and then...next...meanwhile...afterwards...finally...' For ease of discussion, I label this the *discursive model*. While most common in monographs, there is no reason why this technique of fluid storytelling cannot be adapted to longer and more diverse histories; as we shall see, Trogus is a prime example. Yet most authors found the *annalistic model* most convenient for universal histories. This approach uses years or other chronological markers to punctuate the text, dividing up the discussion of even continuous events according to their date.

The importance of identifying these organizational systems lies in the realization that the historian controls not only his selection of subject matter, but also his narrative structure, and both decisions can reflect the objectives of his composition and serve to further direct the thought processes of the audience. Thus the next step is to identify, as far as we can, the intentions of each of the core authors and their method of organizing their selected material. For some of our authors, we have explicit statements, either from testimonia or in the texts themselves; for others, it is necessary to infer their intentions from what survives of their final product. Obviously, for those historians whose texts are badly preserved, great caution is needed.

Before tackling the core authors separately, it may be helpful to select a single comparative characteristic so as to show how structural choices may reflect the authors' perspective. Dillery has observed how 'international' dating systems are used by non-Greeks writing local histories in Greek to emphasize local events of particular significance.⁸ Now dating systems in the discursive model are not strictly structural, but are supplied when the audience may need further

⁸ J. Dillery, 'Quintus Fabius Pictor and Greco-Roman Historiography at Rome', in J. E. Miller, C. Damon, and K. S. Myers (eds.), *Vertis in Usum* (2002), 1–23, esp. 7–8.

orientation regarding the timing of an important event. Such selective use arguably might heighten the significance of the chosen dating system, in that the author cannot assume the audience will adapt for the course of a whole annalistic history to his own system of dating, but instead makes a judgement about which dating system will already be familiar and convenient to the audience. So the selection gives us further insight into the author's assumptions regarding his intended readership.

The author of 1 Maccabees, although writing a treaty denouncing Seleucid rule in Judaea, in fact orientates his readers by using the Seleucid calendar (1.10), thus suggesting that even he was willing to make practical concessions to the Hellenization of Jewish culture. At the end of 1 Maccabees, when the new Hasmonaean dynasty is well established, he reports the concurrent use of local and Hellenistic dating habits. His transcription of an honorific dedication to Simon gives the date using a Hebrew month, the Seleucid year (although it is not highlighted as such), and the year of Simon's reign. This evidence for contemporary use of regnal years suggests that the author of 1 Maccabees consciously decided that a non-Jewish dating system would give his text greater clarity.

In the first surviving chapters of the epitome of Memnon, there survives a fascinating use of dual dating systems; the historian makes use of both the Persian and Spartan calendars to orientate his readers.⁹ This simultaneous focus on East and West, the heart of the Hellenic world and the rising 'barbarian' king, eloquently illustrates the position of Heraclea, and likewise the perspective of the author. He represents the city even at the end of the fifth century as torn between geographical and cultural loyalties, just as it will be later in his narrative during the Mithridatic Wars.

Justin's *Epitome of Trogus* preserves very few indicators of time, yet one of the extant few betrays a Roman orientation. In book 41, when recalling the ethnography and history of the Parthians, he dates the first revolt of the Parthians against Macedonian supremacy, as represented in the person of Seleucus, the great grandson of Antiochus, to the time of the First Punic War, and more precisely to the consulship of L. Manlius Vulso and M. Atilius Regulus (256 BC;

⁹ Mem. 1.4, 2.5; Jacoby notes the possible significance of this (Jec., no. IIIb.272–3).

41.4.3). This anachronistic linking of Rome to events far beyond its sphere of influence in the early part of its history is familiar from a much earlier discussion of the Scythians. In recalling the accomplishments of this warlike people in the territory of Asia and against Alexander the Great, he says: 'They have heard of the military might of Rome but not experienced it' (2.3.5).¹⁰ It may be relevant that the Scythians are identified by Trogus as the progenitors of the Parthians. This desire to orientate the reader to Rome's position in relation to glorified foreign powers can be interpreted as part of the greater drive in universal history to unify disparate events into a single narrative. However, that Rome is used as part of that unifying process is a hallmark of the political developments of the Late Republic and the dawning of the Principate.

Diodorus, as an annalistic historian, was particularly concerned to select workable dating systems. He finds none suitable for the period before the Trojan War, and must rely on the regnal years of the Spartan kings until the establishment of the Olympic games. He eventually tries to harmonize Roman consuls, Olympiads, and Athenian archon years. This blending of new and old dominant powers, and an apolitical, pan-Hellenic, institution, reflects Diodorus' overall perspective, predominantly Hellenic, but with a keen preoccupation with the emergence of Roman hegemony in the Greek world.

As the example of dating systems has shown, elements of authorial choice in the composition of the texts clearly have significant implications for not only the perspective of the historian but also the intended audience. Similar elements can be teased out to present a fuller conception of the focus and objectives of each author, especially as they apply to Rome.

As suggested above, we would expect the local chronicles to be the most likely candidates for the discursive model, as their limited subject matter easily allows for a fluid narrative with a few interspersed digressions. And it does appear that 1 Maccabees and Memnon's history of Heraclea conform to this expectation. Of course, it is worth restating with a fragmentary text such as Memnon's history, that it is possible that any rigid structure was removed by the

¹⁰ *Romanorum audivere, non sensere arma* (Trog. 2.3.5).

epitomator, Photius. Although both these local historians follow a single narrative thread throughout their text, they both find it necessary to include digressions. The necessity arises for a similar reason in both histories, namely the desire to include affairs outside the primary field of action, often with insecure temporal relationship to the events of the main narrative. We can be more specific: when the author wishes to discuss foreign politics and the actions of states at a great distance from the central narrative focus (Judaea or Heraclea), he must break from his account to record the relevant details so as to contextualize the events in the central narrative properly. Obviously, as Rome is a foreign power of key interest to both authors, their digressive sections tend to take Rome as their subject. In Memnon, this is the same type of treatment used earlier in the narrative to incorporate the Diadochi.

Since these strong structural parallels link 1 Maccabees and Memnon it is logical to discuss them in sequence. It may come as a surprise, but as far as we can tell from the surviving epitome, the structure of Trogor's work appears to have more in common with the techniques of the local historians than the other universalists. We might recall Diodorus' claim to have discussed the history of the world as if its affairs were that of a single city (1.3.5–6). But it is Trogor who seems to have come closest to this objective. He achieves this by following the development of successive dominant empires, digressing as necessary to cover their opponents and neighbours, but always returning to the central narrative thread of sequential world empires. We will therefore return to his text, after treating the local chronicles in greater detail, before turning to the other universal historians.

1 Maccabees

1 Maccabees was composed as a justification and glorification of the Hasmonaean dynasty. Clear evidence of this objective is found within the text itself. There is a prime illustration in the passages addressing the failure of Joseph and Azariah, who disobeyed the Maccabean instruction not to attack the Gentiles when they were deputized to guard Judaea (5.18–19 and 55–62). 'Thus the people suffered a great

roul because, thinking to do a brave deed, they did not listen to Judas and his brothers. But they did not belong to the family of those men through whom deliverance was given to Israel' (1 Macc. 5.61–2). A failure of the Jewish people over their enemies is transformed by the historian into proof of divine favour for the Maccabees as a family.

Yet besides the clear and consistent perspective expressed within the text, the author of 1 Maccabees also achieves his objective by selecting a model which his audience would recognize as the correct form for the sacred record of God's aid to the Jewish people. Even today, it is grouped with the Apocrypha accompanying the Bible, in both the Jewish and Christian traditions. It comfortably imitates the style of the historical books of the Bible, such as Kings, and the text is punctuated by poetry similar to that found in temple liturgy. Such elements attempt to build up the credibility of the report in the eyes of its intended audience. As for its basic organization of events, the author employs a simple sequential system following the actions of the Maccabees in the order of their rule. The only structural difficulties arise from the introduction of evidence which the author cannot easily fit into his sequence of events, or which involves events at a great distance from Judaea. This is most notable in the treatment of the Romans.

1 Maccabees is not about Rome—if all references to Rome were deleted, there would be no detectable change to the overall narrative. The lengthier passages about Rome, all of which are concerned with diplomacy, have been called 'islands', isolated passages with some reference to one another, but no links to the surrounding events.¹¹ This is true in so far as it is not necessary to understand such a connection from the events narrated, but it is equally obvious that the author is trying to imply, and at times directly states, an inter-relationship. The author considers Rome to be a famous and influential power throughout the Mediterranean world, whose incorporation into the text as an ally of the Hasmonaeans can heighten his claims regarding that dynasty's legitimacy and prestige. Rome has been consciously inserted into the story of the rise of Mattathias' sons. That does not imply that any of the events are necessarily fictions, but

¹¹ N. Martola, *Capture and Liberation: A Study in the Composition of the First Book of Maccabees* (1984), 226–36.

may cast doubt on any situations in which Rome is depicted as a catalyst. That Rome could easily have been neglected is clearly illustrated by the version of the first half of the story as told in 2 Maccabees. In 1 Maccabees there are three lengthy discussions with Rome as the subject, four shorter points where Rome is a central character, and two casual references to Rome. In 2 Maccabees there are three casual references and one unrelated Roman document inserted with others into the main narrative.

However, the extended discussions of the Romans in 1 Maccabees are serious digressions in the narrative structure, and their isolation requires some further discussion. Three explanations, which are not mutually exclusive, can be offered. First, this history is primarily a local chronicle concerned with Maccabean military campaigns. Because of the narrow geographical and topical scope, the author used a very simple organizational structure of 'event-result-event-result'. Integrating with the main narrative distant events of uncertain chronological or causal relationship required a clear break from the primary structure. Second, digressions can be used to punctuate the text. Chapter eight provides a positive break between the climax of Judas' reign—the defeat of Nicanor—and Judas' own death in battle. Without the clear separation of these events, they would have seemed to cancel one another out, making the victory seem less spectacular.¹² Third, to return to my main premise, Rome does not in fact play any tangible role in the local military and political conflicts. On the other hand, the author was aware of some diplomatic exchanges, although, as will be seen, his evidence may not have been completely clear. Living himself in a period when Roman power was overwhelming and Roman alliances prestigious, it was logical that the author should want to integrate the available information on diplomacy and attribute some significance to it. However, as his available evidence was confusing, he was not able to integrate it completely with his other sources, but he reconstructed the diplomacy to the best of his understanding.

The author assumes that his audience is familiar with Rome; in the city's first appearance it is part of a gloss, in which it is explained that Antiochus IV Epiphanes had been a hostage at Rome (1.10). In this context Rome needs no introduction. In fact, the later use of Rome to

¹² Cf. J. R. Bartlett, *1 Maccabees* (1998), 26.

bolster the reputation of the Hasmonaeans would only be effective if the audience approached the narrative with an understanding of Rome which was similar to that held by the author. This early gloss may also be intended to highlight Roman authority over the adversaries of the Jews and establish that they had common interests. It is partly on the basis of this authority that later in the narrative Judas attempts to establish diplomatic relations with Rome. However, if this was the intention of the author, it is surprising that he does not stress that Demetrius I was also a hostage at Rome. Instead, he only mentions that the young man left that city with a few companions before declaring himself king (7.1). In fact, the passage is surprisingly neutral, considering Demetrius' dramatic escape upon the Senate's refusal to support his claim to the throne (cf. Polybius 31.11–15).

The casual references to Rome earlier in the text (1.10 and 7.1) and the absence of any significant role to be played by Rome in the following narrative indicate that chapter 8 is not intended to be an introduction of Rome into the narrative, even though it has much in common with other introductory digressions on the origins and situation of the Roman people found in many historical texts. Instead, it is an explanation of what Judas knew of the Romans and why he decided to establish diplomatic relations with them; for emphasis, the verb 'to hear' has been moved to the very beginning of the section. While some of the description of the Romans may have been targeted at any segment of the audience which would not understand the prestige and power of the Romans, the author of 1 Maccabees seemed to feel under pressure to defend his protagonist's attempt to open diplomatic relations, because the holy books seemed to forbid making alliances with foreign peoples (Exod. 32:23–33, cf. Deut. 7:2). We know from Jonathan's letter to the Spartans that the author was aware of a conflict between traditional Jewish values and military alliances (12.9–10).

Thus each part of this section can function as a justification. It has been suggested that the author was trying to use the great distance of the Romans from Judaea as an acceptable reason for an exemption from the scriptural prohibition of military alliances for which the story in the book of Joshua provides a precedent (9.3–27).¹³ Yet most

¹³ Cf. J. R. Bartlett, *1 Maccabees* (1998), 82.

of the justifications offered are not based on scriptural models, but instead on pragmatic political motivations. Taxes are mentioned three times as the sure proof of Roman domination over any area or king, first Gaul (8.2), then unnamed kings of distant lands (8.4), and finally Antiochus himself (8.7). It is not surprising to find reference to taxes, as reports of the rapacity of the *publicani* fill other contemporary historians. However, the author does not seem to distinguish between war indemnity payments and actual taxation. Moreover, since the discussion of taxation is juxtaposed with the capture of the gold and silver mines of Spain (8.3), the whole passage is probably trying to stress the wealth of Rome, an excellent characteristic in any ally. It is also possible that the author was trying to put a positive interpretation on an infamous characteristic of the Romans, so as to allay any fears among his audience. The passage also stresses Roman hostility to kings; their defeats of Philip V, Perseus, and Antiochus III are followed by general statements regarding Rome's defeat of kings and kingdoms. The author overlooks (or is unaware of) the constitutional change in Rome from kings to consuls, and says only, 'not one of them has put on a crown [διάδημα] or worn purple as a mark of pride' (1 Macc. 8.14). Yet it is also clear in the text that Rome has no trouble supporting kings; note the reference to transferring Antiochus' territory to Eumenes,¹⁴ and the statement that Rome could make men kings or dispose of them at will (8.8 and 8.13). Again, Judas' motivations lay behind this description of Roman power; it was a king who threatened Judaea, and Rome could therefore remove the threat.

However, in trying to construct a justification for Judas' decision to open diplomatic relations, the author becomes over-eager and inserts anachronistic allusions to foreign affairs and inaccurate descriptions of Roman government. The conquering of Greece is described (8.9–10) in terms appropriate only to the final conflict ending in 146 BC, especially as the author says that the condition of the Greeks had not changed between then and his own day.¹⁵ The

¹⁴ This is King Eumenes II, king of Pergamum from 197 to 158 BC. This transfer of territory, involving India, Media, and Lydia, seems to be no more than a fantastic rumour.

¹⁵ The reference to wives and children foreshadows Trogus' account (34.2), an unusual part of the narrative tradition.

author may have been well aware of his flawed chronology in including later events within Judas' reasoning. As Judas was also plagued by the resistance of Hellenizing Jews, it was necessary to portray the Romans as successful adversaries of the Greeks. It would have been inappropriate to make reference to any of the earlier wars which ended in proclamations of Greek freedom. As discussed in the next chapter, the description of Roman government is full of erroneous claims. Two possibilities exist; either the author was unaware of how Rome functioned or he intentionally falsified his explanation. Moreover, even if the author did consciously mislead his audience, he must have expected them to know no better, suggesting that among educated, traditional (i.e. not Hellenizing) Jews during the later half of the second century, knowledge of Roman government was not common, even though she was well known as a potentially influential ally and powerful military force.

Before leaving 1 Maccabees, some general observations are needed. This wholly unquestioningly positive historical account of Rome in the period by an outsider stands in contrast with the majority of the other accounts, which at least hint at the unpopularity of the newly dominant power. Yet in its original Hebrew form the text was never intended to be read by any Roman. The praise of the Romans is the product of a desire to prove the wisdom and foresight of the founder of the dynasty and had little or nothing to do with an interest in cultivating the audience's more general attitudes to Rome. Had the author actually seen Rome as a prominent contemporary influence on the Jewish state, he might have been far more discerning in his statements.

Memnon

Just as it would be wrong to consider Rome as a primary subject of 1 Maccabees, to read Memnon only for his views on world powers would be to overlook the author's prime intention—the illustration of Heraclea's distinguished heritage. Here, it seems appropriate to give a more detailed discussion than is necessary for the other core authors of how this objective affects Memnon's presentation, especially in relation to contemporary events of wider significance. In the

Roman period, Memnon set himself the task of defending Heraclea's policies, and in his moral code the first virtue was the preservation of the city.

Directly after his digression on early Roman history, Memnon uses Rome's war with Antiochus to illustrate the role of Heraclea in international politics and its positive relationship with Rome. The efforts of the city to bring peace between Antiochus and the Romans is presented in such a way as to stress Heraclea's dedication to Rome and her own importance in taking on the role of international arbitrator (18.8). Offers of arbitration were the hallmark of small prestigious Hellenistic powers often with shipping interests, like Rhodes, which benefited more from a peace-time economy. However, beneath this presentation seems to be a sensible desire to avoid coming between the large powers of East and West. The passage provides a positive historical precedent for the ideal of neutrality which Heraclea fails to uphold during the conflict between Rome and Mithridates. The audience may even be intended to learn from this incident that Heraclea's attempts to avoid engaging in the Mithridatic War were not as illogical as they seemed in hindsight.

In respect of this attempt (26.2), it is startling to realize that the Heracleans had a treaty not only with the Romans, but also with Mithridates. Both treaties required them to render aid, so they pleaded a lack of resources when each side came seeking assistance. I wonder whether Memnon originally took care to detail Heraclea's treaty with Mithridates in the same way he did that with the Romans. It seems unlikely, although Memnon has no reservations about explaining to his audience that the desire for neutrality was driven by the fear of both powers. As if to compensate for neutrality, he also reports that many of the Heracleans privately gave the Romans tactical advice on how to take Sinope, even though the plan proved to be ineffectual (26.3).

Memnon is not consistent in tone regarding Heraclea's actions towards Rome. At times he appears to want to justify the policies which could be construed as hostile to Rome. It is only under duress, the eminent men of the city having been taken hostage, that Heraclea supplied five triremes to Mithridates (27.5). The installation of the Mithridatic garrison is blamed on the treachery of just one man (29.3–4). But when the Romans imposed taxation on the city as

punishment for the ships given to Mithridates, Memnon almost brags that his city decided just to 'make the tax collectors disappear' (27.6), instead of sending an embassy to complain through the proper channels. He also seems proud that his city managed to resist the Roman siege for two years, whereas the pro-Roman course of action would clearly have been to turn the Mithridatic garrison over to the Roman commander.

These last two incidents highlight the independence of Heraclea, a theme closely related in Memnon's presentation to the city's own power and influence in the East. Note how Heraclea's struggle with Prusias of Bithynia begins before the king ever comes to the city itself. Memnon carefully traces Prusias' capture of Cius and Tium, cities which had been under Heraclea's control (19.1). This is a clear reminder to the reader of the scale of Heraclea's power beyond that of a simple polis and chora. In all likelihood, this conflict was a sideline to the war of Prusias I with Eumenes II, but if Photius is not misleading us, Memnon managed to present the hostilities so as to give Heraclea a major role in the events, going so far as to link Prusias' eventual death to a wound he suffered while besieging the city (19.3). Attention returns again to Heraclea's imperial pretensions, when the city faces the Roman siege. She is able to call first on her colonies, who are said to be happy to help (32.2). Later, the city relies on other alliances with the Chersonesians in Scythia, the Theodosians, and the Bosporus (34.3). The efforts of these connections to keep the city supplied were only foiled when Cotta summoned Triarius to block the port (34.5).

Reference to the importance of the city's harbour and to naval assistance rendered to her allies reminds us that Heraclea was a power on the seas, a remarkable thing in the notoriously hostile sailing conditions on the Black Sea. Although Memnon played down the importance of the five ships given to Mithridates, the other acts of naval service to Heraclea's allies are obvious points of civic pride. The brief report of the aid rendered by the Heracleans to the Romans during the Marsic War, the sending of two triremes, suffers from geographical errors and doubts regarding its authenticity (21). Still, its inclusion allowed Memnon to emphasize two themes: the first that the Heracleans were loyal, helpful allies to the Romans, and the second that they were important and powerful enough to participate

in conflicts at a great distance from their own territory. Of course, most readers would have judged two triremes to be a very moderate contribution to any war effort, no matter what praise the author heaps upon them. We might also recall the praise of Heracleian assistance to their friends, the Chians, in the Mithridatic War (23).

Given this localized perspective, one might wonder if Rome has any place at all in Memnon's *Histories* before Cotta's sack of the city in the Mithridatic War. True, Rome is not mentioned until Memnon sees a direct connection between Heracleian interests and Roman actions, but he puts that point over a hundred years prior to the siege of the city itself, when Rome first crossed the Hellespont in the conflict with Antiochus. At least in the epitome, this represents a marked shift in Memnon's perspective. He gives a detailed 'introduction' on Rome, after which focus shifts away from the city onto Rome's conflicts with Mithridates. We might compare how the wars of succession after the death of Alexander earlier in Memnon's text caused a similar shift in perspective away from purely local concern.

The introduction of Rome itself is not without precedent in Memnon's writings: later the epitome preserves in brief part of the foundation myth and history of the city of Nicaea when it comes into the narrative of the Mithridatic War (28.9–11), and the same type of information is also provided for Prusias ad Mare (the city formally named Cius; 28.7). Presumably the whole history opened with an account of the foundation of Heraclea itself. This suggests that while the Roman digression may have been of unusual length, as Photius' comments indicate, such a digression was not in fact out of character with Memnon's approach to history writing. Digressions on the origins and situation of each new player in the historical narrative are a common feature in other writers, notably Pompeius Trogus. All this contradicts the testimony of Photius in his introduction to the epitome when he says that the work guards against digressions, but statements such as that are, of course, subjective.

The introduction of Rome has been fairly condensed by Photius, but some of its original character can be extracted. There is no mention of which particular foundation myth (or myths) were included, if any. Also from the very beginning Rome is associated with Italy, and throughout the last two books the term 'Italians' is

used interchangeably with 'Romans'.¹⁶ There is no suggestion that Memnon envisaged Italian resistance to Roman domination; the only city mentioned in relation to Pyrrhus is Tarentum (18.2), and Memnon ignorantly locates the Marsic War in Spain (21). It also becomes immediately clear that Memnon is not interested in producing a eulogy of the Romans: he says that they settled with Pyrrhus and the Tarentines 'badly' (*κακῶς*). The rest of his summary of Rome's early wars includes the standard canon: the Gallic invasion of Italy, Carthage, and Macedonia. These wars are condensed into references to single illustrious characters—Camillus, Hannibal, and Perseus—but that very well could be a result of Photius' treatment. However, history as determined by and written around individuals is also a feature of other writers, including Polybius (cf. 9.22.1, 10.21.3–4, 10.2.1).

As part of this historical introduction to Rome Memnon includes a comparatively detailed report of a Roman embassy to Alexander, recording 'how the Romans sent out a crown of gold, sufficient for several talents, to Alexander when he crossed into Asia, and he had written to them that one should either rule where it was possible, or yield to those who were stronger' (18.2).¹⁷ Was it this type of historical tradition which inspired Livy's venom when he condemned the 'most ridiculous [*levissimi*] of the Greeks', who claimed that the Romans must have bowed before Alexander?¹⁸ Again, Memnon's account does not appear particularly flattering to the Romans, in that the clear implication is that when confronted by Alexander's embassy, they showed their subservience by sending an extravagant gift in exchange. As we will see in the following chapters, in the Late Republic it was not the place of Rome to send gifts of gold, but to receive them from the leaders of client states hoping to secure their claims to regional power. I suspect that Photius took extra care to record this detail because it struck him as the unusual point in the

¹⁶ ... καὶ τίνα τρόπον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐνταῦθα κατώικησαν... (18.1); for Italians and Romans being treated as one and the same, see 27.7 and 37.2.

¹⁷ L. Ballesteros Pastor, 'Marius' Words to Mithridates Eupator (Plut. *Mar.* 31. 3)', *Historia* 48 (1999), 506–8, discusses the parallel sentiment expressed by Marius to the Pontic king, as well as similar words attributed also to Alexander but directed at the Africans and Athenians (Ps. Callisth. 1.30.1, 2.1.11).

¹⁸ 9.18.6; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 7.15.5–6 and Plin. *HN* 3.57 for other discussions regarding Rome and Alexander.

context of an otherwise ordinary introduction to the Roman past. The end of the introduction makes a smooth transition from Roman concerns back to the Heracleian perspective. Memnon inverts the roles of the Alexander episode just mentioned and has the Heracleians initiate diplomatic relations when the Romans cross into Asia (18.6), although for the Romans he employs the perfect tense of the same verb (*διαβεβηκότας*), subtly suggesting the stronger impact of their invasion than that of Alexander.

Once Rome is introduced, Memnon does not immediately allow it to dominate Heraclea's foreign affairs; the city is still enmeshed in Eastern affairs which are beyond Rome's concern. Consequently, the narrative focuses away from Rome after the details of the diplomatic exchanges. However, Photius' summary at this point becomes extremely disjointed. Three unrelated topics, each of which is given a different section number by Jacoby (19, 20, 21), separate the introduction of Rome and the Mithridatic War. These three sections describe Heraclea's losses at the hands of Prusias of Bithynia, c.182 BC, the city's remarkable survival of a Galatian attack, and the aid given to the Romans by the Heracleians during the Marsic War. The Galatian attack is said to have happened 'before the Romans crossed into Asia', suggesting that the passage was originally part of yet another digression probably looking back at the origins of some event in Memnon's primary narrative.

Photius' main interest is the Mithridatic War, so that with its introduction the style of the epitome changes to include more detail and clearer transitions. It would be very telling if the sentence introducing this war was written by Memnon, but we cannot be sure of this. It reads: 'After these things, there was a grievous war for the Romans against Mithridates, the king of Pontus, which took as its apparent cause the seizure of Cappadocia' (22.1). This gives the impression that the war is to be considered from a Roman point of view and that the blame for the war rests with Mithridates.

The impression that the Roman point of view is dominant can be readily substantiated. Consider passage 29.5, which outlines the structure for the narrative which follows, based on the actions of each Roman general in turn. The actions of Lucullus continue from that point through to section 31, then the narrative returns to the starting point, and follows Cotta for section 32, before again

returning to that same point in time to recount Triarius' activities in section 33. It is Roman interests which dictate the presentation of the war, not strictly those of Heraclea. Remember that during these sections Heraclea is no longer even a Roman ally, since it had already accepted the Mithridatic garrison, so that one could argue that a contemporary Heracleian perspective on this part of the war would have been far closer to a Mithridatic view than to a Roman one. Furthermore, at least in Photius' extract, the first mention of Heraclea during the war comes after nearly two pages of text in Jacoby, which cover the whole of Mithridates' initial campaigns in Asia and Greece together with Roman retaliation. It may well be that Memnon's structure was largely dictated by his available sources,¹⁹ but I think it is equally influenced by a desire to align Heraclea with the victors after the event.

We have seen that although the narrative is often trained on Roman actions, a value system based around the continuing integrity of Heraclea dictates the judgements which Memnon makes. It may seem obvious to say that Memnon's history was concerned with far more than just the events which took place in Heraclea or directly involved the citizens of that city. But it is exactly this characteristic which makes the history so noteworthy. Literary treatises concerned with local issues and composed during the Roman period tended to focus on one of three themes: guides to physical monuments of antiquarian interest, accounts of the distant past, or biographical sketches of famous men, often of cultural, not political, significance.²⁰ History, in its more traditional form concerning military and political actions, was predominantly limited to two forms, universal and Roman. As we have seen, Rome need not be at the centre of all universal histories, but it was more often than not a unifying principle or culmination of events.

¹⁹ I have given little attention to Jacoby's theory that Memnon's *History* during the Roman period is based nearly wholly on a lost history by Kallistratos, primarily because I find the assumption of an underlying source with a separate agenda only a distraction to a productive analysis of the character of Memnon's own writing, which in fact is the only thing on which we have any surviving evidence.

²⁰ See R. Laqueur, 'Lokalchronik', *RE* XIII, 1. 1083–1110, and E. L. Bowie, 'Greeks and their Past in the Second Sophistic', in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Society* (1974), 166–209, esp. 184–8.

So where does Memnon fit into this picture? Surprisingly, Livy provides possibly the closest extant parallel, in that both firmly viewed the world from one *city*, but incorporate widespread events as they became of interest to the inhabitants of that city. Livy has no problem with reconciling this approach with trends towards universalism, because he documents the process by which the Roman *urbs* became the Roman *orbis*, a theme echoed in other writers such as Diodorus (1.3.5–6). However, Memnon's city remained on the edge of a world which was becoming more and more interconnected. Because of the changing political conditions of the Mediterranean, it was impossible for Memnon to write a traditional history of his city without reflecting the aspects of globalization which were impinging on the traditional world of the Greek polis. This process started long before the Romans, and the earlier parts of Memnon's history documented much of the period of globalization under the Diadochi. Yet in the end it was Roman globalization with which Memnon was forced to come to terms, and as part of his modern audience, I must concede that he is successful in preserving the perspective of Heraclea within a much wider and often hostile context.

Trogus

Unlike these two local chroniclers, Trogus was writing a substantial history which incorporated events of the whole Mediterranean (and beyond) from the beginning of human memory down to his own day. One might, therefore, have expected him to select a more rigid pattern with which to manage the huge amount of available information. Yet this is not the case; there are few time markers and there is no regular pattern of geographical locations treated. Instead, he adopts the discursive model outlined above. This gives the whole text a feeling of progression; he begins with one ruler in the distant east, follows that kingdom until its demise, and then resumes with the successor. At points he digresses from the series of successive empires,²¹ usually to supply information on a geographical area or rival

²¹ Trogus is clearly influenced by the theory of successive world empires. Although I do not endorse his suggestions regarding the significance of the theory, J. W. Swain,

people, but he always returns to the main narrative thread. However, like Diodorus, who abandoned his system for the first six books, Trogus also feels the limitations of his style, and covers areas not easily incorporated into his system in the last four books. The first two digressive books are dedicated to the Parthian and Bactrian kingdoms, the third to Rome and Massilia, and the last to Spain.

When looking in greater detail at his organizational approach it becomes apparent that Trogus began with the earliest historical event known to him and moved forward chronologically from that particular empire, changing geographical focus as the dominant power controlling the empire shifted. As one king conquers another, the narrative progresses. However, when the primary subject encounters a people not yet introduced into the narrative, Trogus inserts a lengthy digression on geography, ethnography, and notable historical events. This creates internal leaps of time and space within the essentially continuous narrative of conquest. In many ways, this structure is more closely related to the techniques of local chroniclers than other surviving 'universal' histories, which prefer a balance between chronological progression and geographical focus.

It may be helpful to look at an example of his method of introducing a digression: 'Now, since we are making a transition to Armenia, we should go back a little and look into its beginnings. There is no justification for passing over such a great kingdom in silence...' (42.2.7–8). Yet Trogus does not go back just 'a little'. Instead, he gives a brief statement of Armenia's geographical extent and then begins a detailed mythological account of its foundation beginning with Armenius, a companion of Jason on his quest for the Golden Fleece. This type of treatment is typical of digressions in other authors as well; one might compare the digression on Nicaea in Memnon's account of the Mithridatic War (28.9–11). Again, the impetus for the digression is the entry of the subject into the primary narrative, but in the digression the author chooses to return to the very mythical foundations in order to orientate the reader. This is all part of the larger pattern within Hellenistic culture of identifying

⁴The Theory of the Four Monarchies: Opposition History under the Roman Empire', *C. Phil.* 35 (1940), 1–21, still offers the most comprehensive treatment of the theory in this period.

interlinking relationships between near and distant peoples through the mutable narratives of myth. Bickermann has given such an extensive treatment of this phenomenon that further discussion is not warranted here.²²

How does this structure reflect Trogus' narrative objectives? Here we are in danger of creating a circular argument. It is tempting to base our assumptions of the author's motives on our interpretation of what he achieved. Yet product and intention must remain distinct concepts. For direct testimony we only have the statements of Justin from his preface.

Many Romans, even men of consular rank, had already composed Roman History in a foreign language, Greek, but Pompeius Trogus chose Latin as the medium for his history of Greece and the whole world... his intention being that Greek history should be as accessible in our language as ours is in Greek... And whereas Greek historians approached their work as specialists, each following his own interests and omitting what did not serve his purpose, Pompeius summarized all their material within a chronological framework [*divisa temporibus*] while also pursuing a topic from start to finish [*serie rerum digesta*]. (Trog. *praef.* 1–3)

The second half of this passage is of questionable value, as it contains Justin's observations and nothing necessarily reflecting Trogus' own objectives. However, it is a very interesting parallel to the objectives of Diodorus (discussed below). Both criticize their forerunners for the incomplete nature of their texts. Of course, some might consider this a conceit of the genre, as it is also evident in authors such as Polybius.²³ It is unclear what type of 'temporal divisions' Justin perceived in Trogus' original text; whatever they might be, he seems to have removed all traces of them in his epitome. Luckily the first of the two testimonia quoted above is more promising. Again, as in Diodorus, we have the idea of accessibility, making history available to a new audience. Yet Trogus has a clearer vision: he targets the Latin-speaking audience who should have access not only to Roman history, but also to Greek—that is not just 'the history of Hellenic peoples', but instead the much wider category, 'history as is commonly written in Greek'.

²² E. J. Bickermann, 'Origines Gentium', *C. Phil.* 47 (1952), 65–81.

²³ See 1.4 and the whole of the remaining fragments of book 12.

The other area where modern scholars have sought out Trogus' objectives is in the title to the work itself, *Philippic History*. The importance of rulers called Philip, or more generally the Macedonian dynasts, to the narrative is a distinct possibility, but it is questionable whether they are dominant enough, as textual or historical markers, to warrant being recorded in the title. One point which should be added to the debate originates in the prologues. The final sentence of the prologue for book 40 records how Cleopatra brought the reign of the Ptolemies to an end through her love affair with Antony. The last four books (41–4) are not part of the central narrative, but give regional histories, and it should also be remembered that there was a precedent for universal histories to be 40 books in length; compare Polybius and Diodorus. Thus it could be said that his history concluded with the transfer of power from the last of the Macedonian dynasties to Rome. Still, the title itself cannot be used as convincing evidence, since it cannot be known whether it was created by Trogus or not.

Moving on to Rome itself, Trogus assumes his audience is familiar with the city, making regular reference to Rome as it impacts on the peoples, areas and events which are his primary interest; however, Rome is never the main point of reference for the history. At the end he includes a 'digression', not to introduce Rome, but to emphasize the desire not to ignore the city or to appear ungrateful in his capacity as citizen.

Looking at the treatment of Rome in the main narrative, we may note an example of his lack of emphasis on Rome outside the digression. 25.5.5 has the Romans as just one in a list of those peoples against whom Pyrrhus was never a loser and often the victor. They are grouped with other Western peoples, the Illyrians, Sicilians, and Carthaginians. These peoples are contrasted with the 'mighty kings' of the East, Lysimachus, Demetrius, and Antigonus. So here we see not only Rome amongst a group of states, away from the primary narrative, but also Trogus making it clear that Rome is part of a Western conception of the world, separate from that of the Hellenistic dynasts.

His habit of looking at events in Roman history from the perspective of the provinces will also be familiar from other passages. The transfer of the Attalid kingdom to Roman control is introduced by

the last years of Attalus III. Scipio's embassy to Egypt is a single incident set amongst the troubles of Ptolemy VIII Physcon. Likewise, the beginning of the Mithridatic Wars grows out of Mithridates' rise to domination in the East. This type of sidelining of the Roman perspective is not only a feature of these familiar episodes from the Late Republic, but stretches back to the very earliest points, from the conflicts with Carthage to the troubles with the Macedonian kings.

Trogus himself was aware of the minimal attention he had given to Rome, and for reasons of his own tries to correct this through a digression. 'He therefore touches briefly on the early period of the Roman Empire, in such a manner as not to exceed the scope of his projected work, but so as not to pass over in total silence the origins of the city which is the capital of the entire world' [*caput totius orbis*] (Trogus 43.1.2). This statement assumes that Trogus did indeed plan his historical project in such a way as to exclude Rome. However, that in Trogus' mentality Rome is the key link, as suggested above, with the concept of universalism, is confirmed by the bald assertion of the city's place as the leader of globe. In other words, Trogus wrote a history *around* Rome, but not *about* Rome.

The digression on Rome as it appears in Trogus is significantly different in form from the two previous examples in 1 Maccabees and Memnon's local history. Instead of intending to introduce Rome into the narrative in some way, the description of the city comes at nearly the end of the history (43.1–43.3). The section follows two books dedicated primarily to the Parthians, but also treating Scythia, Bactria, and India. It is followed by Ligurian, Massilian, Spanish, and Carthaginian narratives. One cannot argue that the delayed placement accords it particular prominence given the similar treatment allotted to these other states. Two separate arguments are available for why Trogus chose this location for his extended discussion of Roman affairs. The first derives from the theory of the internal structure of the text outlined above, namely that Trogus traces one empire after another to its end, and at each point where a new geographic or ethnographic element enters the narrative he digresses back to its origins. Thus as Rome is the last empire, its origins would naturally be explored only once it reached supremacy, which Trogus marks by recalling Augustus' accomplishments over the Parthians. The second holds to a partial or total principle of geographical

organization for the text. In this explanation, the last two books represent a digression on Western matters, with Rome being the nearest of the Western powers and Spain being the farthest, when viewed from a Greek vantage point. Each argument has some weight and they need not be mutually exclusive. The first gains strength from its harmony with the overall patterns in the structure, while the second better explains the further digressions on other Western states.

Some further insight as to the reasoning behind the structure and the digression may be gained from the epitomator's comments, assuming that he is reflecting some of Trogus' own statements, not just his own interpretations. He describes the change in topic at the beginning of this book as the homecoming of one who has been on a long journey to foreign parts.²⁴ Clearly Justin refers just to the redirection of attention to the city of Rome, but it might be permissible to suggest that the 'homecoming' in Trogus' mind might have been more general. Indeed, it is at the end of this book that Trogus gives personal details regarding his forebears—their Vocontian origin, acquisition of the Roman citizenship, and service to various Roman generals. Thus the diversity of Trogus' own loyalties in the West may have influenced the shape of his final two books.

To continue with Justin's comments, he suggests that Trogus chose to include this section of the history on Rome out of a sense of duty as a citizen, and so as to illuminate the origins of the city which had become the head of the whole world. Justin further characterizes the description as briefly touching on the early period of Roman *imperium*. The brevity is to ensure that the discussion does not exceed the scope of his work. Clearly, this indicates that the origins of Rome are not properly within the overall plan of the histories. So it is accurate to describe the treatment of Rome as a digression.

Justin considers the subject matter of this digression to be the origin of the city of Rome and the early period of its power. This perception seems to be confirmed by the prologue, which describes this portion of the history as: 'the beginnings of the ancient Latins, the topography of the city of Rome and its history down to Tarquinius Priscus' (*prol.* 43). However, in the epitome itself the discussion

²⁴ ... *veluti post longam peregrinationem domum revertitur*... (43.1.1).

begins at the first inhabitants of Italy. The significance of this seems to be that the 'rulers' of Italy from time immemorial were located on the site of Rome. Thus the first king is identified as Saturnus, and he is said to have lived on what is now the Capitoline. Moreover, the contemporary Roman practice in regard to the Saturnalia is said to recall the character of his rule. The narrative moves on to the arrival of Evander from Arcadia and his settlement on the Palatine. The present is further connected with this mythical past as Evander is credited with establishing the temple of Lycaeus, also known as Pan or Lupercus, at the foot of the hill, and this deity is celebrated in the ceremonial race, the Lupercalia.

The parade of founders continues with Hercules arriving, driving the cattle of Geryon through Italy, and fathering Latinus with the daughter of Faunus, the grandson of Saturnus. Next Aeneas arrives, and his line eventually produces Romulus and Remus and the consequent founding of Rome. Justin glosses over the foundation of the Senate and the Patricians, and the seizure of the Sabine women. The only trace of further development of the history of the regal period comes with the mention of Tarquinius (Priscus) as the king under whom the Phocaeans, the future founders of Massilia, made their alliance with Rome. While both Justin and the prologues in their characterization of the discussion focus on Rome itself, the actual epitome as it survives is weighted heavily towards the pre-foundation narratives, with a careful attempt to integrate all the principal traditions. Besides the narrative of the intervening kings between Romulus and Tarquinius Priscus, the epitome also lacks the topographical description mentioned by the prologue. Such a geographical element would have been well in keeping with Trogus' style; one might compare his extant treatment of Sicily (4.1). However, less of the scepticism seen in the denunciation of the Scylla and Charybdis myth is apparent within the treatment of the foundation legends of Rome.

More significantly, this digression lacks the overview of the Roman character and accomplishments provided by 1 Maccabees or Memnon. There is no evidence Trogus gave specific information on the Republican constitution, nor can the early history have provided information on the origins of the Roman form of government if it ended before the end of the regal period. In fact, the subject matter of this section has far more in common with the foundation narratives

known from the annalistic historians, such as Nicolaus and Diodorus.

Trogus stands between the discursive method of the local chronicle and the annalistic approach to universal history. He takes the method of the former and applies it to the subject of the latter. Of the two local chronicles studied here, neither takes Rome as its primary subject, but as a feature of the history of their subjects they must find a means of presenting Rome to their audience. Both choose to summarize briefly the salient attributes of Rome, predominantly her military prowess. As we have seen, Trogus does not take Rome as his primary subject either, but he has no need to 'introduce' Rome as he is writing in the language of the Romans, and the accomplishments of the Romans are made clear as they overcome each of the peoples whom Trogus discusses. Instead, he requires the digression since he is writing a form of universal history. He has meticulously treated the origins and geography of all the previous peoples mentioned in the text; to exclude Rome would be to leave his subject incomplete. According to Justin, it is this very awareness of omission which spurs Trogus to continue writing.

Diodorus

In the opening sections of his history, Diodorus speaks extensively about the overall value of history and the need to bring disparate information together in one place so as to ease the difficulties in deriving benefit from its teachings.

Consequently, after we had examined the composition of each of these authors' works [*i.e.* those who took specific portions of the past as their subject], we resolved to write a history after a plan which might yield to its readers the greatest benefit and at the same time incommode them the least. For if a man should begin with the most ancient times and record to the best of his ability the affairs of the entire world [τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου πράξεις] down to his own day, so far as they have been handed down to memory, as though they were the affairs of a single city [ὥσπερ τινὸς μιᾶς πόλεως], he would obviously have to undertake an immense labour, yet he would have composed a treatise of the utmost value to those who are studiously inclined. (Diod. 1.3.5–6)

This tells us a great deal regarding Diodorus' methodological approach to his task. He openly acknowledges his dependence on previous scholarship, but hopes to improve on his predecessors by the completeness of his account and the concision of his presentation. One might feel that these two objectives are at odds with one another! His ideal of unifying world history as if it were the account of a single place is again an immense challenge; the breadth of his geographical span does not lend itself easily to presentation as a single point of reference or single sphere of action. Diodorus is obviously aware, and even proud, of the difficulty of his task.

He managed to execute his project by conforming to rigid predetermined structural guidelines. His ideal was an account of the events of each year in four major spheres of action, Greece, Sicily, Africa, and Italy. This was not satisfactory for the period before accurate records, which Diodorus considers the period before the Trojan War. So he imposes no strict chronology of the mythological period; instead, he gives over the first three books to barbarian legendary history, and the second three to Greek. However, he afterwards follows his annalistic system, even when it means dividing the narrative of single events.²⁵ This did bother him (20.43.7), but he felt the benefits outweighed the deficiencies. Particular confusion is caused by his attempt to synchronize the consular years of Rome with the Athenian archon years. The former began in January from 153 BC and prior to that on the Ides of March. The latter changed over in mid-July. This of course takes no account of irregular intercalations. The difficulty is compounded through Diodorus' attempt to align both these systems with the Olympiads. For all the disconcerting experience of reading a text structured around such an inflexible system, we must concede that it is precisely a system which allows Diodorus to accomplish his own goal of integrating all the disparate historical material that he found in his sources into a document which would allow his readers to access any one portion of the past with relative ease. We should also observe his geographical divisions,

²⁵ See 7.8f. for Diodorus' explanation of the difficulty in the period just following the Trojan war of finding an accurate system of dating until the first Olympiad, because of the lack of annual magistrates. He relies on the kings of Sparta instead; the narrative then makes a transition into a discussion of Lycurgus.

which favour the western Mediterranean in a way that is unprecedented in universal history.

Since Rome is part of his organizational system itself, in that he uses consular dating as one of his annalistic markers, we might expect a heavy focus on Rome in the early portions of the history, before he begins the annalistic approach. His predominant interest in the affairs of the western Mediterranean would likewise suggest a similar expectation. Yet Diodorus' text does not reinforce this supposition, at least not directly. It is not until the fourth book that we get a piece of narrative which actually incorporates Rome into the main subject of the narrative, with the site of the city being a stop on Hercules' journeys (4.21). For the foundation story one must wait until the seventh and eighth books (7.5–7 and 8.2–6), after which Rome becomes a regular annual feature of the narrative. Of course there is logic to this, in that Rome was a post-Trojan foundation, and that war was his choice of division between legendary history based on a geographical pattern and formal annalistic history.

However, this is not to suggest that Rome is actually absent from the first six books. It is here, where Rome is not the primary focus, that we find particularly illuminating references to the Romans. They demonstrate how integral the Romans are to Diodorus' world view. They are constantly the benchmark to which peoples are compared, and regional studies invariably end with the coming of Rome. Outside his autobiographical comments in the introduction regarding learning Latin and researching in the city of Rome, the first reference to the Romans comes in the description of Egyptian superstitions (1.84). To illustrate the extent of their cultural reverence for the cat, Diodorus recounts the retribution visited upon Roman ambassadors in Alexandria when one accidentally caused the death of a cat, even though at that time the Ptolemaic king was seeking to establish friendly relations with Rome. In the following books Rome is used as a point of comparison, for army sizes, tactical situations, military practices, and even geographical exploration.²⁶ There are also regular references to Roman names for specific places, usually contrasted with the Greek name.²⁷ Other uses of Rome are just as banal: as a point of reference for distances (4.56.6), for her economic interests in

²⁶ 2.5.7, 2.17, 5.39.7, 3.38, 4.56.8.

²⁷ 5.13.3, 5.17.1, 5.32.1, 5.39.7.

a region (5.10), or for the foundation of a colony (5.38.5). Yet all of these uses confirm for us, the modern readers, how central Rome was to Diodorus' world conception, and the extent to which he felt Rome would be a common point of reference for his audience as well.

However, in these early books we do find passages which suggest a political, or moral, judgement on Rome as well. There is a damning reference to the exploitation of the Spanish mines by the Italians; they are said to be driven by greed to exploit their slaves cruelly in huge underground earthworks (5.35.4).²⁸ Perhaps most interesting is how Diodorus uses the Roman failure to conquer or subdue as a particular hallmark of the savagery of certain peoples.²⁹ To this we might compare how Diodorus credits Hercules with founding the Celtic city of Alesia, which in turn made the place near-invincible; this is followed with the assertion that the city fell to no one before Julius Caesar, and he was later deified (4.18). One is given the impression that Caesar's accomplishment in taking the city of savages who were under divine protection is intended by Diodorus as proof of Caesar's own divinity. Moreover, while other Romans have failed to conquer certain barbarians, Caesar triumphs.

Rome, then, is essential not only to Diodorus' structure, but also to his conceptual understanding of the world he lived in. Yet how does this correlate with his objectives for the composition? If we compare his work to the three discursive histories—1 Maccabees, Memnon, and Trogus—then it becomes obvious that this is the first author whom we have examined who writes about Roman rule for a potentially Roman audience. Diodorus, however, purports to write for everyone. We may begin to believe his claims as we look at the diversity of reference points he uses for dates, geography, cultural practices, and mythology. Roman and Greek alike could comfortably align their perspective with that of the author. Moreover, he made pragmatic and moral judgements on contemporary behaviour and

²⁸ This might be compared to the blame placed upon the Italians in Sicily which led to the outbreak of the First Sicilian Slave Revolt (Diod. 34/5.2.27).

²⁹ 4.30: the Romans fail to conquer the barbarized Greek colonists of Sardinia; 5.15.5: the Romans are last in a chain to try to subdue Corsica; 5.32.5: the Gallic sack of Rome is connected with the defeat of Roman armies by the Galatians; 5.34.7: even after conquest, the Romans were unable to stop the Lusitanians completely from plundering.

models of interaction between rulers and the ruled. At times he may seem sycophantic in his praise or his ethical statements may look more like platitudes, but he walked a new line and it was a fine line between two previously separate cultures, now unified by a common government. He could sympathize with both; see flaws in both; and admire both. Living through the most unsettled years of civil discord after the assassination of Julius Caesar, it is no surprise that he craved a harmonious coexistence.

Nicolaus

Such are the deep uncertainties regarding his fragmentary text that I cannot assert with any surety that Nicolaus used a strict annalistic structure for his universal history. Yet in what remains of the universal history, and even his *Life of Caesar Augustus* and autobiography, the narrative seems to follow a fairly strict chronological progression. With so little evidence on structure, I will focus primarily on his objectives in writing history. In his autobiography, Nicolaus gives the following description of how he first came to embark upon the writing of history:

Then a love for history seized Herod, with Nicolaus applauding the matter and saying that it was most statesmanlike and also useful to the king to inquire into the works and deeds of the past. So starting out on this, he also first directed Nicolaus to endeavour at the business of historical inquiry. So he applied himself to the matter to a still greater extent, gathering together the whole of history, and in undertaking the great work could do no other. (Nic. F135)

Although there is very little remaining of the histories themselves to shed light on his approach, we do have the testimony of Josephus on the character of his writing, as it was influenced by its origins in Herod's request:

...He wrote in Herod's lifetime, and under his reign, and so as to please him, and as a servant to him, touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligently concealing them....Thus, he proceeded in his whole work, making a pompous encomium upon what just actions he had done, but earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones. Indeed, a man, as I said, may have a great

deal to say by way of excuse for Nicolaus; for he did not so properly write this as a history for others, as someone that might be subservient to the king himself.³⁰

Of course, as discussed in the previous chapter, *reliquiae* taken from polemic are the most unreliable. However, even without Josephus' strong words we might have concluded that a man in a subservient position to a king, writing upon royal request, might very well sculpt events so as best to flatter the work's patron. Indeed, if such manipulation did not take place it would be very surprising.

Yet beyond simple flattery, how did royal objectives impose themselves on the shape of the text? There is good reason to think that a King between two cultures would require a text unifying those cultures. Herod considered himself a philhellene, but he ruled over the Jews. Nicolaus drew not only from the Hellenistic literary tradition when constructing the distant past or even more recent events. He had at his disposal a range of biblical and extra-biblical Judaic sources which he seems to have used to build up a world view pleasing to Herod (cf. F19–20).³¹ Yet we must bear in mind that Herod also ruled at the whim of Rome, introducing a third culture into Nicolaus' field of reference.

The universal history was not the only historical enterprise undertaken by Nicolaus; in the introduction to his biography of Caesar Augustus he makes the following statement of intent:

To set forth the full power of this man's intelligence and virtue, both in the administration which he exercised at Rome and in the conduct of great wars both domestic and foreign, is a subject for competition in speech and essay, that men may win renown by treating it well. I myself shall relate his achievements, so that all can know the truth. (F126)³²

³⁰ Nic. T12 = Joseph. *AJ* 16.183–6; the translation comes from Wm. Whiston's edition of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (Loeb).

³¹ B. Z. Wacholder, *Nicolaus of Damascus* (1962), chapter four, 'Jewish History'.

³² Bellemore in her translation removes the suggestion that compositions were created for actual competitions: 'Writers find it a struggle to recount and record properly (attempting to distinguish themselves by fine essays) the strength of this man's prudence and goodness'. However, we may accept the possibility that Nicolaus meant *ἀγώνισμα* in the formal sense, as we have testimony of such contests in the provinces; see Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 42.4, which records Pompey's visit to Mytilene and the modification of the contest of the poets there, so as to make Pompey's exploits the only acceptable theme.

Two separate and distinct motivations are identified. The reader is meant to infer that the first is not Nicolaus' motivation, but that of the 'average' composer—the potential of achieving personal glory through the presentation of Augustus' impressive deeds. Nicolaus ascribes to himself a higher motivation, the dissemination of accurate information. Does this imply that some unscrupulous men have sought to win competitions by misrepresenting the Princes? The claim to honest composition and general enlightenment is familiar from Diodorus' own introduction, and as discussed in the previous chapter, it is these claims to accuracy and didacticism which imbued the historical genre with its capacity to influence the thought and actions of an audience. Later in the same work, when introducing a digression on the assassination of Julius Caesar and laying out the structure for the rest of his narrative, Nicolaus states that the whole work was written 'on behalf of' Augustus Caesar (οὗ ἕνεκα ὅδε ὁ λόγος ὤρμηται, F130.19). This need not imply a commission, like that received from Herod for the universal history, but instead only the author's inspiration.

In Nicolaus' universal history, he traces Rome from its beginning, but he does not allow that beginning to coincide with the start of the history itself, nor does Rome appear to serve any organizational function in the text. This clearly sets the emergence of Rome later than 'the beginning of history' and removes any argument for her chronological superiority. Given Nicolaus' exposure to Semitic and Mesopotamian historical traditions with their notable claims to antiquity, it is no great surprise that he chooses to begin his narrative before the founding of Rome.

The earliest extant reference to the city comes in book seven with two surviving fragments of the story of Romulus and Remus (F69–70). This parallels the delayed introduction of Rome in Diodorus' universal history as well. The Trojan War was covered in book three (F14), but there is no way of knowing whether he chose to include the myth of Aeneas and his connection with Rome in this earlier part of the histories. The other point at which the reader would expect some mention of Rome's mythical connection with Troy is when he recounts in the autobiography his defence of Ilium before Agrippa (F134), but none is found there. After Romulus, the next Roman mentioned in the surviving fragments is Sulla (F75). With nearly all

of the middle books of the history missing there is no use in speculating as to how Rome was treated therein.

While it is difficult to see the function of Rome in the universal history, the autobiography and the *Life of Caesar Augustus* are dominated by Rome. Why, then, did he compose these documents?

It has been suggested that the autobiography was influenced by Hebraic models.³³ It is very remarkable that he in fact wrote the first known autobiography in Greek. Yet part of the nature of the genre of contemporary history in the Hellenistic period was autopsy—the role of the author as witness, or even participant. It must not have seemed too unusual to a man who had composed a universal history for a king and a biography of an emperor, to document his own life as well. Still, the motivation behind such a document seems to be unquestionably self-advertisement. As in the case of Cicero's overt search for the praise of his peers, we must remember that Romano-Hellenistic culture did not value modesty above glory.

The next question must be how the role of Rome in the narrative interacts with Nicolaus' self-presentation. Surprisingly, there is no attempt to 'borrow' prestige directly, claiming importance through affiliation with eminent Romans. In the surviving fragments he refers to his interactions with the Romans on five separate occasions. In three of those incidents, he represents himself as influencing Roman policy and even correcting Roman injustice. First, there is his advocacy for Ilium when the city is outrageously fined by Agrippa for allowing Julia to be caught in a storm (F134). Then he rectifies Augustus' opinion of Herod after the king transgresses by invading Arabia (F136.1). And finally, there is his advice for the distribution of Herod's kingdom after his death, when Augustus follows his endorsement of Archelaus and recommendation for the liberation of the Greek cities (F136.10–11). This hinting at his influence over Roman policy and the arbitrary nature of critical decisions does not seem particularly flattering to the Romans. He seems to exalt himself at the expense of the ruling power. This does not mean that he questions that authority, as is seen in his recommendation that Antipater, after being convicted of treason by Herod, be turned over to the will of

³³ B. Z. Wacholder, *Nicolaus of Damascus* (1962), 37–51; this theory has been dismissed by A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (1993), 86 n. 21.

Augustus for his plots against the emperor (F136.7). The implication is that he has attained a superiority over Romans, at least morally:

Certain men accused Nicolaus, who had accepted much money from friends, of not preserving it, and of spending most of this leisure time with common people, shunning the eminent and ultra-rich among those in Rome . . . , although many famous people put pressure on him, in no way did he concede but through the whole day he was engaged in philosophical inquiries. (Nic. F138)

Moving on to the *Life of Caesar Augustus*, it is surprisingly difficult to find the intrusion of a non-Roman perspective. The best that can be provided are a few glosses on Roman cultural practices from the early fragments: an explanation of the significance of putting on the *toga virilis* as a rite of passage (F127.4); the ritual of the Latin festival in which the magistrates proceed to the Alban mount and the priests assume their duties in the city (F127.5); the significance of Julius Caesar's rank (F127.8); the types of theatres to be found in Rome (F127.9); Roman attitudes toward the symbol of the diadem (F130.20); and the customs associated with the Lupercalia (F130.21). As will be seen in greater detail in the next chapter, ethnographic detail separates the author and intended audience from the subject. Even if we assume these details are included as simple explanation, instead of for their novelty value, it still seems as if the author is making a judgement regarding his audience's likely lack of knowledge regarding Roman culture.

Another type of passage which betrays a non-Roman authorship is one where Nicolaus' reveals his own misconceptions, or perhaps his belief that his audience would not notice an exaggeration of the truth. Throughout the *Life of Caesar Augustus*, Nicolaus makes reference to the relationship between Julius Caesar and the future Augustus. This is no particular surprise. More startling are Nicolaus' regular assertions that Octavian's adoption entitled him not only to a name and an estate, but also to succeed Caesar in all his authority (esp. F130.18 and 28). Obviously, this type of inherited position might be familiar in Eastern dynasties, but had no place in Roman politics. Yet Nicolaus regularly uses Octavian's obligation to assume the position at the head of the state as the driving force in his narrative.

On Nicolaus' overall use of Rome, we might point to three distinct approaches. In the universal history, Rome is a single component among many—important because of the relationship between its authority and that of Herod, but not a dominant theme or structural necessity. In his autobiography, Rome becomes a critical foil, the key situation in which the protagonist, i.e. Nicolaus himself, must exert his talents to bring about the resolution of problems. Finally, in the *Life of Caesar Augustus*, Rome and Roman affairs consume the whole text, leaving little trace of the rest of the world; distant lands are only relevant as they have been conquered or peacefully submit to Roman authority. It is particularly useful that we have fragments surviving from three separate historical compositions by a single author. This allows for a realization of the malleability of presentation, how one man may approach Rome with varying attitudes depending on his present frame of reference. In Herod's court, Rome was a peripheral, though important, issue; when Nicolaus reflected on his own life, Rome was a challenge, to be considered, acted upon, and dismissed; and when writing 'on behalf of Augustus', Rome was all-consuming.

Posidonius

Turning to Posidonius, it is again important to recall the great uncertainty regarding the character of his history writing. Few fragments survive. There is no firm evidence for its chronological span, let alone its narrative objectives. Two testimonia have been at the centre of previous discussions on the nature of his project.

The first, from the *Suda*, says that Posidonius wrote after Polybius (T1a E-K = T1 Jac.). While clearly meant as a chronological marker, it has been suggested that there was also a stylistic or objective link. There are also a number of references to Polybius in the surviving *reliquiae*, though many occurrences of his name are not part of the material derived from Posidonius, but are instead part of the reporting author's context.³⁴ In fact there are only four fragments which

³⁴ Polybius is mentioned in T1a-1b E-K = T1 Jac.; T25 E-K = T17b Jac.; T47 E-K = T17a Jac.; T75 E-K, T77 E-K = T14 Jac.; T78 E-K = T16 Jac.; F49.B.4 E-K = F28 Jac.; F209 E-K = F77 Jac.; F217 E-K = F85 Jac.; F225 E-K = F89 Jac.; F246 E-K = F53

demonstrate that Posidonius mentioned Polybius, and all four contradict Polybius.³⁵ Two of the references to Polybius in the reporting authors' context for the fragments set up a contrast between Polybius' and Posidonius' version of a story.³⁶ Furthermore, none of Posidonius' four extant references to Polybius are clearly attributed to the *Histories*—one comes from *On Ocean* (F49.B.4 E-K = F28 Jac.), two address geographical issues (T78 E-K = T16 Jac. and F217 E-K = F85 Jac.), and the only one with a historical context criticizes his claim that Ti. Gracchus destroyed 300 cities, an event well before the traditional starting date of the *Histories*, suggesting that if it did come from the *Histories* it was most likely part of a digression (F271 E-K = F51 Jac., cf. Polyb. 25.1.1).

The second testimony, taken from Athenaeus, claims that Posidonius wrote history in keeping with his philosophy (T80 E-K = T12a Jac.).³⁷ Athenaeus seems to connect this 'philosophy' specifically with Posidonius' habit of recording ethnographic details. When we look at the sparse collection of fragments clearly said to come from the *Histories*, that is excluding those which are attributed only to Posidonius and not to a specific work, even when they address a historical topic,³⁸ few generalizations can be made which have a bearing on the author's objectives in composition. Some, like Kidd, assume an overall chronological progression and are happy to amend book numbers which are 'corrupt' when they disrupt the expected pattern. Others, like Clarke and Malitz, are struck by geographical groupings which appear when the fragments are arranged by their attested book numbers. It is striking that when there are multiple fragments surviving from a single book they all come from the same general sphere of action. However, the evidence is slim. We only have more

Jac.; F265 E-K = F59 Jac.; F271 E-K = F51 Jac. The index of Kidd, *Trans.* erroneously lists F120 E-K = F75 Jac. as also including a reference to Polybius.

³⁵ T78 E-K = T16 Jac.; F49.B.4 E-K = F28 Jac.; F217 E-K = F85 Jac.; F271 E-K = F51 Jac.

³⁶ F225 E-K = F89 Jac.; F246 E-K = F53 Jac.

³⁷ For discussion see I. G. Kidd, 'Posidonius as Philosopher-Historian', in M. Griffin and J. Barnes (eds.), *Philosophia Togata I*, 38–50, esp. 39–41.

³⁸ This grouping of fragments is singled out by both Jacoby (F1–61) and Kidd (F51–78), and also by K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History* (1999). Clarke's Appendix B offers text, translation, and commentary, following Jacoby's numbering system.

than one fragment in the case of five books, just about ten per cent of the total number. The following list summarizes the information:

- Book 3 (2 fragments) Syria and Arabia
- Book 4 (2 fragments) Syria and Egypt
- Book 16 (3 fragments) Syria and Parthia
- Book 23 (4 fragments) Celtica
- Book 28 (2 fragments) Syria

Moreover, when looking at the regions in question, Syria appears in four out of the five examples. Syria is also known to have been discussed in book 34, and there are discussions of Syria or the greater Seleucid kingdom among the fragments not ascribed book numbers or even necessarily from the *Histories*.³⁹ If Syria can be incorporated into Posidonius' narrative in so many disparate books, then a principle of geographical progression cannot be the only or even primary organizational pattern used by Posidonius.

The evidence is equally inconclusive regarding a chronological progression:

- Book 4, after 145 BC,⁴⁰ Hierax, parasite of Ptolemy Physcon (F56 E-K = F4 Jac.)
- Book 4 or 34,⁴¹ 125–96, *Heracleon, rival of Antiochus VIII Grypus* (F75 E-K = F24 Jac.)
- Book 7, 144/143 or 140/139, Ptolemy Physcon and Scipio's Embassy (F58 E-K = F7 Jac.)
- Book 8, 136–132?, Damophilus and the First Sicilian Slave Revolt (F59 E-K = F7 Jac.)
- Book 14, 130s, banquets of Antiochus VII Sidetes (F61a/b E-K = F9a/b Jac.)
- Book 16, 129, death of Antiochus VII Sidetes (F63 E-K = F11 Jac.)
- Book 16 or 26⁴², after 129, Himerus, viceroy of Babylonia (F65 E-K = F13 Jac.)

³⁹ F226 E-K = F29 Jac.; F231 E-K = F87 Jac.; F242 E-K = F68 Jac.; F278 E-K = F69 Jac.; F279 E-K, F280 E-K = F105a Jac.; F281a E-K = F105b Jac.; F281b E-K.

⁴⁰ The date of death of Ptolemy Philometor, which is mentioned in the past tense in the fragment.

⁴¹ Kidd, *Comm.*, 327. The manuscript reads '4', which he 'corrects' to 34. He is not the first editor of the text to do so; Bake also favoured 34, but Müller 44.

⁴² The text is probably corrupt and gives the book number as 26 instead of 16, but the mistake is obvious in that Himerus was left in charge of Babylonia after the defeat of Antiochus VII by the king of Parthia, when he went to deal with the Scythians.

Book 22, c. 325/324, *Harpalus' funeral for Pythonice* (F66 E-K = F14 Jac.)

Book 28, 125–96, games of Antiochus VIII Grypus (F72a/b E-K = F21a/b Jac.)

Book 34, 125–96, Apollonius, parasite of Antiochus VIII Grypus (F74 E-K = F23 Jac.)

Book 47, 107–88, Alexander, son of Ptolemy Physcon (F77 E-K = F26 Jac.)

Book 49, c.92, Apicius, rival of Rutilius Rufus (F78 E-K = F27 Jac.)

I have italicized the two anomalies in the pattern which upset the basic progression, but even with these removed there is no perfect chronological advancement. However, it does seem obvious by looking at the dates and topics that Posidonius was most definitely writing a contemporary history which incorporated events in both the eastern and western Mediterranean. Sadly, little else can actually be said with confidence regarding his narrative objectives as shown through structural considerations.

Fortunately, there is slightly more evidence for his historical treatment of Rome. Of the fragments classified as historical by Kidd or actually attributed to his history, nineteen discuss Rome in such a way as to give confidence that it was Posidonius himself, not the source of the fragment, who connected the topic to Rome. Unfortunately, only four are actually known to have come from the histories, but those four show a variety of treatments paralleled by the other historical fragments, confirming at least that the types of treatment identified could actually all be found in a single composition. Posidonius uses Rome in three ways: as the subject of ethnographic or cultural autopsy, as a means of conceptualizing another subject, or as the primary focus of a historical narrative.

The fragments on Rome of an ethnographic character are discussed at length in the next chapter; they cover legendary history, names, customs, and dining rituals.⁴³ As emphasized elsewhere, such ethnographic discussion separates the subject from the author and audience, but at the same time allows the author to play the role of cultural

⁴³ F256 E-K = F40 Jac. (Brutus); F53 E-K = F1 Jac. (triumphal banquet); F261 E-K = F41 Jac. and F264 E-K = F60 Jac. (names); F266 E-K = F59 Jac. (ancestral habit).

mediator. For Posidonius, it is specifically the detail of his scrutiny of Roman culture, like the ancestry of the Bruti or the triumphal banquets, which suggests a greater sophistication of understanding and interest than that normally associated with the ethnographic method. He is more concerned with clarifying details and variations than simply painting a generalization of Roman character.

When Rome is simply the context for another narrative focus, the examples can be divided between those in which the role of Rome is necessary for the event to have taken place, and those in which the author has made an extra effort to draw Rome into a discussion where her participation is not strictly required. Events for which the exclusion of Rome would have been impractical are usually of a military or diplomatic nature; for instance, the Athenion fragment would make no sense without reference to Rome's war with Mithridates (F253 E-K = F36 Jac.). The other examples of this include the reference to Scipio's visit in a description of Ptolemy VIII (F58 E-K = F7 Jac.), and the situation of Nicias' clever escape from his townsmen in the wider context of Marcellus' Sicilian campaign (F257 E-K = F43 Jac.). This habit of adopting a perspective other than that of Rome, even when treating events dominated by Roman action, indicates an intellectual flexibility. His narrative perspective is not guided by personal loyalties alone, but instead is adaptable depending on the story, and moral, he wishes to elaborate.

However, it is Posidonius' use of Rome when not strictly necessary which perhaps best illustrates how entrenched Roman hegemony was in his world view. In the surviving fragments this type of use is most often found in references to the Celts and Gauls. When he wants to discuss Luvernius' generosity, he provides the information that his son Bituis was deposed by the Romans (F67 E-K = F18 Jac.). He uses the Roman discovery of treasure as support for his theory regarding the wealth of the Tectosages (F273 E-K = F33 Jac.). And Rome's ultimate domination closes his discussion of both the Cimbrian migrations and Celtic head-hunting practices (F272 E-K = F31 Jac. and F274 E-K = F55 Jac.). We might compare how Roman domination was a common terminus of Diodorus' ethnographic treatments as well.

Oddly, in none of the surviving fragments on Rome itself is there any trace of an actual narration of a series of events. Instead, they are all so short as to be anecdotal. I am thinking particularly of the

fragments on Scipio and Marcellus.⁴⁴ However, we can discern that he had no qualms regarding negative portrayal of certain Romans, such as Apicius (F78 E-K = F27 Jac.). Like his detailed inquiry into ethnographic treatment, he freely expressed scepticism regarding exaggerated descriptions of Roman conquest.⁴⁵ Perhaps most useful is the knowledge that he wrote at times from personal experience.⁴⁶

Posidonius, then, was a writer familiar with Rome and keen to investigate the oddities of its culture, but he does not seem to have written history with an eye trained on that city. The majority of the surviving fragments discuss events within Rome's potential sphere of interest, but without direct reference to the new power. With so little evidence, our arguments must be cautious, but it would be wrong simply to assume a Roman perspective or preoccupation where no evidence of one exists.

Rome has a place in the narrative of each of these core authors, but is not the only focus. None wrote simple panegyrics or condemnations of the new empire. There is no hint of a viable alternative power or an authorial desire to see the global empire crumbling into smaller local powers. While the authors speak of Rome in generalities on occasion, most of the treatment is sensitive to individuals. Like that of the kings before them, the authority of Roman *imperium* gave individual magistrates and promagistrates nearly unlimited power in the field. The repercussions of such individual authority show in the keen interest expressed in the moral quality of leaders, Roman or otherwise. When it is not a law code, but a personal sense of justice which determines policy, the thought-processes and ethics of the bearer of *imperium* are of central concern to those living under his authority. The historians do their best to reinforce traditional standards of behaviour, and to illustrate the consequences of deviation. They express clear opinions on certain issues, usually those affecting the provinces, like taxation or corrupt assizes. They see means by which they and their peers may benefit from Roman rule, but warn against common pitfalls, such as expecting compliant responses to requests for endorsement of local authority.

⁴⁴ Scipio: F254 E-K = F30 Jac. and F265 E-K = F59 Jac.; Marcellus: F258 E-K = F44 Jac.; F259 E-K = F42a Jac.; F260 E-K = F42b Jac.

⁴⁵ Ti. Gracchus the elder in Celtiberia (F271 E-K = F51 Jac.).

⁴⁶ The dying Marius (F255 E-K = F37 Jac.).

From the Outside Looking in: Roman Culture and Domestic Politics

In this and the following chapters which address themes in the surviving narratives, the predominant question is not 'what happened?', but 'how do the authors present actions and attitudes?' This line of inquiry often seems sceptical of the veracity of historical accounts, but more importantly these types of questions acknowledge the power of the individual writer to sculpt events for their audience, regardless of the sources of information. After considering 'how', it is only logical to ask 'why' subjects are presented in the way they are. In exploring this secondary focus it becomes critical to use comparative materials, not only from other contemporary historians, but also from the wider pool of ancient sources. The presence of patterns, themes, or marked divergences from other accounts can all mark significant thoughts and attitudes among the provincial elite.

Scholarship has been concerned to identify overarching 'truisms' within the historiography of the Late Republic and the age of Augustus, and it is no coincidence that terms like 'anti-Roman', 'pro-Roman', 'Philhellene', 'Philo-barbarian', and 'opposition literature' are frequent in modern works.¹ However, such terms are often

¹ J. M. Alonso-Núñez, 'L'opposizione contro l'imperialismo romano e contro il principato nella storiografia del tempo di Augusto', *RSA* 12 (1982) 131–41; E. Malaspina, 'Uno storico filobarbaro, Pompeo Trogo', in B. Luiselli and M. Simonetti (eds.), *Romanobarbarica* (1976), i. 135–58; M. Sordi, 'Timagene di Alessandria: un storico ellenocentrico e philobarbaro', *ANRW* II. 30.1 (1982), 775–97; G. B. Sunseri, 'Sul presunto antiromanesimo di Timagene', *Studi di storia antica offerti dagli allievi a Eugenio Manni* (1976), 91–101; J. W. Swain, 'The Theory of the Four Monarchies: Opposition History under the Roman Empire', *C. Phil.* 35 (1940), 1–21; R. Urban, 'Gallisches Bewusstsein und Romkritik bei Pompeius Trogus', *ANRW* II. 30.2 (1982), 1424–43.

unproductive in furthering our general understanding of the socio-political and cultural history of this turbulent period. The main difficulty with labelling authors and texts is that it masks the depth and sophistication of their attitudes and perspectives. The following discussion reveals a great breadth of representations of Rome and her neighbours, often within the same text or texts by the same author. Surprisingly, both condemnation and praise are the exception, not the rule. In nearly all of the core texts, Rome is accepted as the dominant power and it is individual commanders and situations on which authorial judgement is passed.

As none of the historians in question take Rome as their primary subject, but only as a component of a broader composition, it is illuminating to see the type of information they wished to give their audience regarding the city and its people. In some cases, the historians even assume an ethnographic point of view, such as is found in Hellenic historical and geographical writings which discuss peoples outside the Greek world;² such a perspective and style of writing implies distance between the subject and the author and his audience. The investigation in this chapter of the characterization of Rome particularly with reference to her domestic affairs lays the groundwork for the following, which looks at the presentation of Rome's actions outside Italy and progresses from instances in which Rome treats the peoples and lands as separate sovereign bodies to those instances where Rome is the primary authority within the region in question. Of course, the distinction between these two sorts of case allows for much interpretation and many intermediary steps. Again, it is important to recall that the discussion is not concerned with 'reality' per se, but the authorial representations and evaluations of Roman actions.

Foundation Myths and Legendary History

It seems fitting to begin a discussion of the characterization of the Roman people with the narratives purporting to record the origins of

² K. Karttunen, 'Distant Lands in Classical Ethnography', *Grazer Beiträge* 18 (1992), 195–204.

the city and its inhabitants. This is especially appropriate given the use of such stories in ancient texts to explain certain contemporary aspects of Roman life or perceptions of behaviour patterns. The discussion must centre on Nicolaus, Trogus, and Diodorus, all of whom refer to the legends in some detail. It seems likely that Memnon's original work treated some version of the foundation legend, as the epitome says that the digression on Rome began with: 'the races from which it grew and the place there in Italy where they lived; both as much as anticipated the foundation of Rome and as much as was accomplished' (Mem. 18.1). By contrast, it is unlikely that the author of 1 Maccabees credited any of the traditional accounts of early Roman history, for in his summary of the Roman constitution and history, he says that they never had kings (8.14). Unfortunately, nothing can be extracted from the surviving fragments regarding the possibility of Posidonius' treating Roman foundation legends.

In historical writings, myths appear in a variety of contexts, but a primary distinction can be made between the use of legends in explanatory passages within the narrative of historical events, and the presentation of legends for their own sake. Often when discussing mythological topics the historian will purport to record the speech, thoughts, or motivations of characters within the historical narrative. Such usage separates belief in the legend from the beliefs of the historian himself, whereas in those cases where the stories are recorded as part of the primary narrative, no distinction is necessarily made between the facts of contemporary events and the traditions regarding the distant past.

Romulus and Remus

Although in reconstructions of the relative chronology of Roman foundation myths the story of the twins comes long after that of the Trojan wanderers, it is commonly held that the Romans themselves originally put forth the tale of the brothers, while the descent from the survivors of Ilium was a later adoption of a Greek explanation.³

³ Aeneas was just one of many Greek heroes proposed over time as a founder of the city on the Tiber; see E. J. Bickermann, 'Origines Gentium', *C. Phil.* 47 (1952), 65–81, esp. 65–7; A. Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome* (2001), 131–56;

Of course, this does not mean that Greeks were not aware of the Roman legends from a relatively early date.⁴ Thus there is some logic in examining how non-Roman historians presented a traditional Roman narrative of the founding of their city, before looking at the versions which were strongly influenced by Hellenistic culture. There is a plethora of recent scholarship on the development and importance of the story of Romulus and Remus, and this leaves the need here for only a cursory study of the material as it is relevant to the authors under scrutiny.⁵ Trogus, Nicolaus, and Diodorus all present versions of the legend, the latter two in more detail, but the first interprets the myths as significant to certain events of the Late Republic.

Before beginning the analysis of the passages themselves, an issue surrounding the authorship of the relevant fragments (F69 and F70) of Nicolaus must be addressed. As Jacoby and others have realized, the texts of these fragments are identical to Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities* 1.82.3–84.2 and 2.32.1–34.1. The first deals with the revelation of the true parentage of the twins and the overthrow of Amulius; most of the narrative is said to derive from Fabius,⁶ with a short rationalized version added at the end. The second is set in the aftermath of the Rape of the Sabine Women and Romulus' successes over Caenina, Antemnae, and Crustumerium. The fragments come from the Constantinian extracts ('On

T. J. Cornell, 'Aeneas and the Twins: The Development of the Roman Foundation Legend', *PCPS* 21 (1975), 1–32.

⁴ P. S. Derow and Wm. G. Forrest, 'An Inscription from Chios', *ABSA* 77 (1982), 79–92. The relevant line reads: *περιέχον τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ κτίστον τῆς Ῥώμης Ῥωμύλου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ* | *αὐτοῦ Ῥέμου· νας καθ' ἣν συμβέβηκεν αὐτοῦ[ς] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἄρεος γεννηθῆναι*. The document is believed to date to the early second century BC (189–188).

⁵ T. P. Wiseman, *Remus: A Roman Myth* (1995); M. Fox, *Roman Historical Myths* (1996); A. Scheithauer, 'Romanum imperium a Romulo exordium habet: Das Bild des Romulus bei Cicero, Dionys von Halikarnass, Livius und Plutarch', in A. Haltenhoff and F.-H. Mutschler (eds.), *Hortus Litterarum Antiquarum* (2000), 495–513; J. Poucet, 'Fabius Pictor et Denys d'Halicarnasse: les enfances de Romulus et Rémus', *Historia* 25 (1976), 201–6 with critique by G. P. Verbrugghe, 'Fabius Pictor's Romulus and Remus', *Historia* 30 (1981), 236–8; C. J. Classen, 'Romulus in der römischen Republik', *Philologus* 106 (1962), 174–204; T. J. Cornell, 'The Foundation of Rome in the Ancient Literary Tradition', in H. Blake *et al.* (eds.), *Papers in Italian Archaeology I: Recent Research in Prehistoric, Classical and Mediaeval Archaeology* (1978), 131–9.

⁶ Usually interpreted as referring to Fabius Pictor, see Peter, *HRRel.*, F5b.

Virtue' 1.349, 9 ff.), which, as discussed in chapter two, are known for their reliability. But a more convincing indication that no mistake has been made in the extraction and attribution is the final line of F70: 'This is the end of the seventh book of Nicolaus' *Histories*. Look for the remainder in the volume, *Concerning Hellenic History*.' Here the copyist confirms exactly from which volume he has been working.

So being assured that these fragments were actually part of Nicolaus' universal history, one is left with the difficulty of reconciling this with the fact that the same text was clearly part of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' own narrative. As the two men are very near contemporaries, it is difficult to say for sure who is borrowing from whom: Dionysius tells us he finished his work in 7 BC, but it was a project stretching over 22 years (1.3 and 7). On the basis of a reliable fragment, it seems that Nicolaus had at least begun his *Universal History* before 12 BC, when he travelled to Rome with Herod (F135), but he may have finished after Herod's death in 4 BC.⁷ Logic suggests that Nicolaus is the more likely copyist. Dionysius claims that his innovation is incorporating Roman sources into the Greek canon (1.5–7). Nicolaus himself, although known to have visited Rome, composed primarily in Herod's court, giving the advantage to Dionysius for original research and composition. Moreover, Nicolaus' aim was a history of all time and all people, which according to some traditions took 144 books, while Dionysius' sole concern was the illumination of Roman origins. Thus it seems inappropriate to discuss these two portions of Nicolaus as if they were original compositions. Instead, the most one can reasonably say is that he judged Dionysius to be a useful and reliable source for early Roman history, one who was unlikely to offend his patron, whose interests were so wholly tied up with Augustus' good graces.

Although in Diodorus' text there is a brief mention of Remus and Romulus as the slayers of Amulius and founders of Rome at the end of a fragment of book 7 (7.5.12) and a couple of brief allusions to them earlier in the narrative (4.21.1 and 7.5.1), most of the discussion comes in five chapters of book 8 (8.2–6). These chapters correspond to five separate fragments from three different volumes of

⁷ M. Toher, 'The Terminal Date of Nicolaus' *Universal History*', *The Ancient History Bulletin* 1 (1987), 135–8; see also appendix one.

the Constantinian excerpts covering the following episodes: the enforced chastity of the twins' mother, Numitor's recognition of his grandsons and the overthrow of Amulius, the popularity of Romulus and Remus with the herdsmen, the taking of auguries, and the fatal dispute at the ditch. There are parallels in other ancient accounts for all of these aspects of the myth. What is noticeable, however, is that Diodorus has selected some of the least appealing aspects of the narrative: how Romulus cheats at the auguries, which leads Remus to prophesy that in Rome 'it will often happen that right fortune follows sinister designs',⁸ and then Remus' criticism of the trench and his unfortunate death upon crossing the defences.

Wiseman also notes that a play on the names of the twins can be seen in this version, as in others.⁹ Remus was thought to derive from *remorari*, 'to delay', while Romulus like Rome was linked with *ῥώμη* 'strength' or 'force'. However, neither is a virtue or a vice in itself: delay may be prudence or laziness; force may be a justified exercise of authority or hasty brutality. In Diodorus' versions, as in others, Romulus' defining characteristic is rash decisive action. He calls his brother before the birds actually appear; when criticized for his inadequate defences he orders the death of anyone who crosses them, thus ordering his brother's execution. All this is not to suggest that Diodorus is overtly using myths to undermine the reputation of Rome. However, he is in contrast with Trogus, who knows the unpleasant aspects of the myths, but only presents them in reported speech, never with the weight of authorial endorsement.

The narrative in the epitome of Trogus is truncated but fairly complete up until the death of Amulius (43.2). Then there is a brief mention of the foundation, the establishment of the Patricians as 'fathers', and the Rape of the Sabine Women (43.3.1–2), before Justin's attention moves elsewhere. The most distinctive aspect of Trogus' narrative is his desire to rationalize the supernatural, although this too is not without precedent, including a tradition reported by Nicolaus (F69 = Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.84.1–2; see

⁸ I adopt Wiseman's translation (T. P. Wiseman, *Remus: A Roman Myth* (1995), 9), which brings out the pun on right and left as directions in which to observe birds, as well as fortuitous and unlucky. ... πολλὰ κίς ἐπαριστέροις βουλευμασιν ἐπιδέξιος ἀκολουθήσει τύχη (Diod. 8.5).

⁹ T. P. Wiseman, *Remus: A Roman Myth* (1995), 7 ff. and 107 ff.

above). Trogus withholds any direct acceptance of the divine origins of the twins who came to found Rome, although he reports the arguments used by others, including their birth in a grove of Mars and their nourishment by a wolf (43.2.7). He even goes so far as to suggest that they resulted from a lack of discretion on the part of their mother: 'shut away in the grove sacred to Mars, she gave birth to two boys; whether they were begotten of an illicit liaison or by Mars is not known' (Trogus 43.2.3).

Trogus does not doubt the role of fortune in leading a she-wolf to suckle the exposed infants, but does try to provide a 'believable' explanation for the animal's behaviour, saying that she had lost her pups and wished to empty her overfull teats. Trogus' propensity to scepticism regarding such stories is illustrated in his account of the miraculous survival of the future king Habis as his grandfather tried to expose him—the final episode of which includes the child being nursed by a variety of animals, including dogs, swine, and deer. He comments, 'his adventures would seem mere myth but for the reports that the founders of Rome were suckled by a wolf, and Cyrus, king of Persia, nourished by a dog' (Trogus 44.4.12). Much earlier he had even suggested that the story of Cyrus and the dog arose from the name of his wet nurse, which meant 'dog' in Persian (1.4). Further examples of Trogus' attempts to rationalize legend for the purposes of history include his account of Geryon as three brothers and the connection between the fires of Mount Aetna and the stories of Scylla and Charybdis.¹⁰

While Trogus himself tries to preserve a degree of realism and minimal criticism, he was well aware of the uglier versions of the myth. This becomes apparent in the speeches of Rome's enemies. Most explicit are the references to the twins in the retort of the Aetolians to a Roman order to withdraw from Acarnania (28.2). The elements of fratricide and the Rape of the Sabine Women, along with a possible allusion to their pastoral origins, are all used in a derogatory manner. Likewise, their 'wolfish' nature is condemned in Mithridates' speech (38.6.7–8).

However, for our inquiry into the portrayal of contemporary Roman character by historians, it is more interesting to see how

¹⁰ See 44.4.16 for the former, and 4.1.12–13 for the latter.

Romulus and Remus are referred to elsewhere in Trogus' histories. One such instance comes in the digression on the origins of the Parthians: 'having won the kingdom and consolidated it too, Arsaces died at an advanced age, as renowned a figure for the Parthians as Cyrus is for the Persians, Alexander for the Macedonians and Romulus for the Romans' (Trogus 41.5.5). Two points should be noted in Trogus' selection of individuals for comparison with the first Arsaces, king of the Parthians. First, Romulus is a striking choice as the only 'founder' in the mythical sense; the others are notable men from historical periods whose actions established and expanded the breadth and scope of their respective kingdoms. Secondly, the three choices for comparison—Persia, Macedonia, and Rome—are notable as they are often highlighted in that order as 'successive empires'. The topos of one universal empire giving way to another, often in groups of four with the last in the series being superior to all preceding, is common within the oracular literature and historiography of this period.¹¹ If Trogus' choice in comparisons was informed by the topos of successive empires, then the choice of Romulus as the representative of Rome is even more striking. One would expect a single Roman postdating Alexander who established significant territorial gains, for example Caesar, or Pompey, or even one of the Scipios.¹² Moreover, Aeneas was the preferred founder of Rome under the Augustan regime, because of the legends connecting the Trojan hero to the Julii.¹³ By choosing to use Romulus as the representative of Rome in this context, Trogus seems to be taking a politically neutral stance, refusing to elevate any recent Roman. Yet elsewhere in the histories Trogus seems to have no qualms in referring to Rome's Trojan connections or recounting Augustus' accomplishments.¹⁴

¹¹ J. W. Swain, 'The Theory of the Four Monarchies: Opposition History under the Roman Empire', *C. Phil.* 35 (1940), 1–21. The primary example in prophetic literature is from Daniel 2:26–45.

¹² Even Justin felt that a comparison could be made between Arsaces' treatment by subsequent Parthians and Caesar's and Augustus' memory in Rome. In one of the few points at which he directly intrudes into the narrative, Justin provides a gloss on the Parthian habit of calling all subsequent kings Arsaces, noting that the Romans thus use the names Augustus and Caesar (41.5.8).

¹³ A. Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome* (2001), 17 ff.

¹⁴ On the Trojan connections, see below; for the accomplishments of Augustus, see 42.5 and 44.5.8.

Troy and Aeneas

Although the Aeneas story might be considered a particularly Augustan foundation myth, the connection with Troy is far older; a useful example is the decree of Lampsacus (195/194 BC), a city of the northern Troad, honouring its ambassador Hegesias, who solicited the goodwill of the Romans by claiming kinship.¹⁵ This inscription may also be used as a point of comparison for Trogus' first surviving reference to the myth (28.1.5–6), which tells of an Acarnanian appeal to the Roman Senate against the Aetolians (c.233/232 BC, cf. Polyb. 2.2ff.). The Roman delegation ordered the Aetolians to remove their garrisons and leave independent 'the only people who did not, in days of old, send help to the Greeks against the Trojans, founders of their race'. According to Trogus, it is the Romans themselves who use the Trojan foundation legend to justify their intervention in Eastern politics; one might have expected to see the concept of obligation to have arisen with the Acarnanian requests. It is also relatively surprising that mythic inaction instead of active aid could be seen as a basis for contemporary obligations.

It may help to set this passage into its appropriate literary and historical context.¹⁶ Two further accounts link Rome to the Acarnanians through the Trojan War; it is notable that the sources, Strabo and Dionysius, were, like Trogus, writing in the early Principate.¹⁷ In Strabo, it is the Acarnanians who bring their mythic inaction to the attention of the Romans, so as to obtain autonomy. However, Dionysius makes the role of the Acarnanians far more positive, saying that they aided Aeneas on his journey to Italy; on account of this, the Romans granted them the cities of Leukas, Anaktorion, and Oiniadai, as well as joint entitlement with the Aetolians to the Echinades Islands. While the historicity and date of all three instances of Roman benefactions to the Acarnanians remain doubtful, they all obviously draw on a common tradition.

¹⁵ *Syll.*³ 591, with an accessible translation in Sherk, *Augustus* 4.5. For comparative documentation of Eastern communities' awareness of the Rome–Troy connection, see A. Erskine, 'Delos, Aeneas, and *IG XI.4.756*', *ZPE* 117 (1997), 133–6.

¹⁶ The cursory discussion here owes much to A. Erskine's treatment of the subject (*Troy between Greece and Rome* (2001), 188–95, with relevant bibliography).

¹⁷ Strabo 10.2.25 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.51.2.

Further doubt has been expressed about the veracity of Trogus' own account on a number of points. First, it is hard to believe that the Romans themselves were familiar enough with the catalogue of ships from book two of the *Iliad* in the 240s or 230s BC to note the absence of the Acarnanians. Second, the Roman claim to Trojan ancestry is paralleled in the text with the Aetolians' response, which, among other criticisms, emphasizes the undesirable character of Rome's foundation, through allusion to the Romulus and Remus narrative. Third, even in a culture which took seriously kinship obligations arising from the heroic age,¹⁸ it is doubtful whether the Acarnanians or the Romans would have pointed to a lack of participation as the origin for any friendly relations, let alone as the source of a duty to protect.

If, therefore, Trogus' account is implausible, what function does it serve in the historical narrative? The answer is probably closely related to two items just mentioned: the emphasis on the other, more negative, mythical tradition presented in the Aetolians' speech and the parallel accounts in contemporary writers. The latter confirm that Trogus was drawing on a widely known tradition of a connection between the two peoples, and the former, perhaps invented by Trogus himself, provides him with a reason to present the very different mythological emphasis of the Aetolians' speech. The dismissive attitude of the Aetolians towards Rome was exploited by Polybius as a means of explaining and enlivening the development of Rome's Eastern relations.¹⁹ Trogus is following in this tradition in composing the extant speech as a rebuttal to a very early venture of Rome into Eastern affairs. The myths are an eloquent means of highlighting the tension between Rome's traditionally Western, non-Greek, position and territorial concerns, and her emergence as a Hellenistic power.

Trogus continues to exploit the vocabulary of mythology within the historical narrative of Rome's growing interest in Eastern affairs. The next surviving relevant passage (31.8.1–4) is set during the war

¹⁸ A. Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome* (2001), 163–8; O. Curty, *Les Parentés légendaires entre cités grecques* (1995), and C. P. Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World* (1999).

¹⁹ For example, see their discontent after Cynoscephalae and the settlement of 196 BC: 18.27, 34, 38, 39, 45.

against Antiochus III (c.190 BC).²⁰ Here the power of the rhetoric is so strong that it is best to present the passage in full:

Preparations for war were therefore made by both sides, and the Romans entered Asia and reached Ilium. Here the people of Ilium and Rome met each other joyfully, the former recalling Aeneas and the other chieftains who had set off from their land, the latter their descent from these heroes. The happiness they all displayed was as intense as would be normal between parents and children reunited after a long interval. The Trojans were pleased that their descendants had conquered the West and Africa and were now claiming Asia as their hereditary empire; they said the fall of Troy was an event to be welcomed so that the city could be so auspiciously reborn. For their part, the Romans were filled with an insatiable desire to see their ancestors' home, the cradle of their forefathers and the temples and statues of their gods. (Trogus 31.8.1–4)

The lack of historical detail, such as the identities of the people involved or a precise indication of date, again throws doubt on the derivation of this passage from any eye-witness account. It too serves to highlight Rome's non-Greek origins, but here they are presented as complementary to her Eastern interests. Furthermore, the claims are legitimized by the remnants of the mother-city. The actions of the Romans are portrayed as particularly pious, thus underlining a characteristic often associated in literature with the traditional Roman values. The constructed nature of the account is further underlined by the focus on the scale and virtue of the Roman empire, the expansion towards global domination, and the conflict between the 'claiming of Asia as their hereditary empire' and the rhetoric of the campaign against the king as motivated by a desire to preserve the freedom of the Greeks.

Given these two politicized uses of Rome's connection with Troy from Trogus' history, one might have expected a greater emphasis on this version of the founding in the digression on early Roman history in book 43. However, Trogus in neither instance presents the connection or its relationship to contemporary events in his own authorial voice: the claims are not presented as fact, but form part of the rhetoric employed by the characters in the narrative. By contrast, the digression in the second-to-last book represents Trogus'

²⁰ A. Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome* (2001), 234–7.

own views on the legends of importance for his audience. As has already been seen in the discussion of the Romulus myth above, Trogus tends to be sceptical of fantastical aspects of aetiological stories. Thus it may not be too surprising that, as the epitome stands, there is little which seems relevant to contemporary politics in the account of Aeneas' arrival (43.1.10–13). Even his son and heir is called by his traditional name, Ascanius, without further reference to any descendant named Iulus or Iulius, which would have recalled to readers his role as ancestor of the Iulii.

Trogus' non-committal approach to the legendary connections between Rome and Troy, and to the role of Aeneas and his relationship to contemporary Romans, can be contrasted with the sentiments found in Diodorus and Nicolaus. Two passages from Diodorus offer convenient thematic parallels, as does a line from Nicolaus' *Life of Caesar Augustus*. In the first passage of interest Diodorus discusses the origins and prominence of the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Eryx, where both Aeneas and ambassadors from Rome feature as supplicants to the goddess (4.83.4–7).²¹ Aeneas stopped at the temple on his way to Italy and honoured it, as it was dedicated to his own mother, while the ambassadors paid particular attention to the site for the same reason: they traced their ancestry back to her. At first this looks as though it is in the same spirit as Trogus, recording the beliefs of others. However, Diodorus goes on to say that they, i.e. the Romans, were successful in all their endeavours because of their divine heritage, and that the honours they paid at this sanctuary were simply part of their duty to the source of their success. The visits are linked to the magistrates assigned to Sicily. Again the theme of piety and the expansion of Roman hegemony become intertwined in the historiographical interpretation.

The second passage from Diodorus recounts the struggle between Ascanius' brother and his son for the rulership of the Latins after his

²¹ K. S. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* (1990), 154–9, reads the passage with its minimizing of Aeneas' relationship to Sicily and the sanctuary as an attempt to defend local tradition against Roman mythical 'co-option'. A. Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome* (2001), 198–205, puts Diodorus' reference into the context of other writers, predominantly Roman, who mention Roman piety towards Venus Erycina: Livy 22.9.7–11, 22.10.10, 23.30.13–14, 23.31.9; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.872–6; Vergil, *Aeneid* 5.759–60.

death (7.5.8). The former is named as Silvius and the latter as Iulius. Iulius loses, but was made *pontifex maximus*, 'a kind of second king, and from him we are told, was sprung the Julian *gens* which exists in Rome even to this day' (Diod. 7.5.8).²² It has been suggested that this story was used by Julius Caesar to boost his candidacy for the office in 63 BC, when he was rather young to be a contender and there were rumours of bribery.²³ Whatever its origins, this particular account of the religious role of the original Iulius was common currency under the Principate (cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.70).

The scepticism of Trogus and the endorsement of Diodorus can be further tempered by a short passage from Nicolaus' *Life of Caesar Augustus*. It is set amongst reports of the malicious rumours used to discredit Julius Caesar shortly before his assassination. Here Caesar's claims to Trojan origins are used to misrepresent his intentions for the future of Rome. The preceding rumour had speculated on his intentions concerning Cleopatra and Alexandria. 'Others said that [Caesar] was going to do the same thing [found a capital for his empire] at Troy, on account of his ancient connection with the Trojan race' (Nic. F130.20.4). This short statement well illustrates the use of myth as a rhetorical vehicle. The Trojan origin is no longer used as an identifying trait of the Romans, but specifically of the Julian *gens*. The association between the family, the dictator, and the East is further used to distance Caesar from the Roman people as a whole.

Nicolaus himself reports the rumour in derisive tones, but by doing so helps us to see the multi-dimensionality of other manifestations of the myth. Trogus inserts references to the Trojan heritage of the Romans specifically in the context of the rhetoric of their eastern expansion and reserves any indication of his attitude toward them. Diodorus also seems to be employing myth as a form of political justification. Unlike the other two, Diodorus uses his own voice to add authority to his assertions, thus disguising some of the rhetorical dimensions of his references. Yet there can be little doubt as to the political significance of piety and the Julian connection with the office of the *pontifex maximus* in the transitional years between

²² *Quasi secundus rex erat: a quo ortam hucusque Iuliam familiam Romae perdurare aiunt* (Diod. 7.5.8). The fragment is preserved in Eusebius' *Chronicle* and thus has been translated from the Greek into Latin.

²³ A. Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome* (2001), 20 and n. 27.

Caesar's dictatorship and Augustus' own reign. While for modern readers it is easy to accept this malleability in the presentation of myths, it is equally true of historical events, as will be clearly seen throughout this chapter and the following.

Further Myths and Legends

Although the Trojan myth as used to explain the origins of Rome was fully co-opted by the Romans themselves, there are other mythical narrative frameworks which the Greeks regularly used to explain the origins of newly encountered peoples. The appeal of the Trojan legend to the ancient aetiologists lay in the wanderings of the Greeks on their homeward journeys and the displacement of the defeated Trojans. Other myths which featured such broad geographical movements were also popular with those constructing the origins of peoples beyond the Hellenic world, such as the labours of Hercules and the voyage of Jason and the Argonauts.

Trogus combines this Hellenistic form of aetiology with indigenous Roman tradition, so as to connect Italic peoples with those newly conquered by the Romans on the farthest eastern edge of the Hellenic world. Such an approach is far more sophisticated than, say, Dionysius' attempts to prove the Romans to be Greeks: it acknowledges the validity of both Greek and Roman traditions in the theoretical web of mythical connections. Both Jason and Hercules, those traditional heroes, feature in Trogus' version of the origins of Armenia and the tribes therein (42.2.7–3.9). However, he is not only concerned to illuminate such beginnings, but also records how such mythical kinship influences contemporary events. The primary passage of interest reads as follows:

[Jason] struck an alliance with the Albani who supposedly followed Hercules from Mount Alba in Italy at the time when the latter was taking his cattle through Italy after killing Geryon. During the war with Mithridates these people remembered their Italian origins and greeted the army of Pompey as their brothers... The Albani have as their neighbours the Amazons... (Trogus 42.3.4 and 7)

This passage provides a clear example of the Hellenistic habit of linking peoples, places, and legends through near-homononyms. In

this way Hercules is used as the connective agent which allows for a direct link between a locale in Italy and another in Armenia. However, the desire for such a link goes beyond the simple urge towards historical explanation; as we have already seen with the Aeneas legend, such mythological kinships were exploited by ancient peoples in the creation of diplomatic alliances. Trogus is unique in his recording of this particular tradition with its Italic elements.

Rival narratives concerning Pompey's interactions with the Albani help to identify what assumptions Trogus conveys within his text. Strabo, in the only nearly contemporary account, includes a substantial topographic and ethnographic discussion of the Albani (11.4.1–8). He only offhandedly refers to their attack against Pompey in a description of their military practices (11.4.5). After he has concluded his discussion of the Albani, there is a brief mention of Jason's travels in the area and his companion Armenus, but no reference to an alliance or the aetiological myths of the Albanian people. Likewise, Dio reports in great detail how the Albani attacked the Romans during the Saturnalia, were brought to a truce, and eventually engaged and defeated again in the spring (36.54.1–5 and 37.4–5.1). Appian only mentions the attack in the spring, characterizing it as an ambush. He also mentions the Amazons, saying that women with wounds like those of men in battle were among the prisoners, but he cannot decide if this is because the Amazons were their neighbours or because any women who fight with the barbarians were called 'Amazons' (*Mith.* 15.103). Plutarch includes both the winter attack at the Saturnalia and the spring engagement, but with less narrative detail than Dio. He, however, says that the Albani had originally granted Pompey free passage before the winter attack; and in regard to the Amazons, he reports that no women were found among the dead, but Amazonian weaponry was found. Moreover, he seems to be contradicting a literary tradition when he denies that the Amazons were the neighbours of the Albani since 'the Gelae and Leges dwell between them' (*Vit. Pomp.* 35). This short survey of the alternative treatments of Pompey and the Albani demonstrates Trogus' freedom to manipulate key elements while still sharing common themes with the other historiographical traditions.

It is perfectly possible that Trogus, or some other ancient writer, invented the connection between Mount Alba and the Albani on the

basis of a false etymology, and the Albani themselves could well have used such a purported mythological connection to further negotiations with the Romans; compare the above discussion of the Lamp-sacus decree (*Syll.*³ 591) and literary tradition connecting the Acarnanians to Rome (Trogus 28.1.6). It should be borne in mind that Trogus' uncle accompanied Pompey on his expedition against Mithridates as a cavalry squadron leader, making it possible that Trogus had access to first-hand information not available to other writers.

Obviously, there was a substantial tradition of historical narrative relating to Pompey's expedition in the region in which Amazons played a memorable role. Also, the passage from Strabo confirms that Trogus' focus on Jason was also grounded in the traditional ethnography of the area. However, the connection between the Albani of the Caspian sea region and Mount Alba in Italy appears to be unique, as does their fraternal welcoming of Pompey. The latter might just be explained by Justin's cutting of the text—it is not hard to imagine that Trogus' original narrative continued on to explain their deception and attack upon the Roman army. But Trogus chose to include the aetiological explanation in the manner in which he did. Note first that the people who had inhabited Mount Alba are only identified as Italians, not as Latins or in any other way which would denote the close mythological and cultural links of Rome with this site.²⁴ Secondly, it is this Italian heritage which provides them with a fraternal relationship with the Romans. Unless Trogus was making an obscure comment on the unbrotherly behaviour of the Italians to the Romans as modelled by the Albani's betrayal of Pompey's troops, one must reconstruct for Trogus a conception of Italian/Roman relations as harmonious and with little distinction between the Latin and Italian relations with Rome. Moreover, like Trogus' scene of the Romans' first arrival at Troy, this 'joyous' moment in the expansion of Roman hegemony reflects the author's desire to represent that expansion in a particularly positive light. That it is a common ground with the newly conquered which allows

²⁴ Near the foot of the mountain was the traditional location of Alba Longa and at the top was the Temple of Jupiter Latiaris, at which four Roman commanders are known to have held triumphs.

this peaceable event fits well the ideology of the Hellenistic period. The link might be cultural or mythological, but common ground could be found in very disparate places to allow friendly relations between states.

Having worked through the extant references to Greek mythology as applied to Rome by the core authors, it seems fitting to end this section on legendary events by coming back to those traditions which clearly originated with the Romans themselves and stand on the cusp of myth and history. The tradition which dominates the surviving accounts of the end of the regal period at Rome centres on the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus. It is quite likely that the version of events known to us from many sources has been influenced by the role of Brutus in the assassination of Julius Caesar and the numerous connections made between this Brutus of the Late Republic and his 'ancestor', who was responsible for the downfall of monarchy in ancient Rome.²⁵

However, it is important to realize that Posidonius, who did not live to see the Ides of March 44 BC, was still interested in the Bruti. Plutarch in his *Life of Brutus* shows us that Posidonius engaged in discussions of Roman legendary history, at least regarding the expulsion of the kings and the founding of the republic (F256 E-K = F40 Jac.). The aspect of interest to Plutarch, and thus the surviving component, is the relationship of the Bruti of the Late Republic to L. Iunius Brutus, the expeller of Tarquinius Superbus. Posidonius apparently pointed out that the popular tradition that L. Iunius ordered the execution of his two sons when they were discovered to be members of a conspiracy to reinstate the Tarquins,²⁶ did not negate the possibility of a third son surviving to allow for a direct continuation of the line. Apparently Posidonius also pointed out the similarity between the facial features of the statue of L. Iunius on the Capitoline and eminent Bruti of his own day.²⁷ Kidd wants to see this

²⁵ A. Erskine, 'Hellenistic Monarchy and Roman Political Invective', *CQ* 41 (1991), 106–20; cf. E. Rawson, 'Caesar's Heritage: Hellenistic Kings and their Roman Equals', *JRS* 65 (1975), 148–59.

²⁶ Livy, 2.3–5, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.2, 8–12, Val. Max. 5.8.1.

²⁷ This statue is also mentioned by Cass. Dio 43.45.4; he gives the further details that it was set among seven regal statues, and when a ninth of Caesar was added to the collection Brutus first began to plan the assassination.

as a 'tongue-in-cheek' argument, thus exonerating Posidonius from belief in legendary history and the possibility that the statue was an accurate representation of its subject (*Comm.*, 896). However, Posidonius' attention to this subject need not reflect personal belief, but instead an awareness of the significance of such hereditary claims within Roman society. We have seen in the preceding discussion, and will again note in the following chapters, that foreign peoples did engage in Hellenistic diplomatic courtesies based on Roman foundation legends and at times used these same legends to criticize the character of the Romans. Here in Posidonius we have the next level of sophistication, an awareness of internal uses of myths in Roman society. That such discussions, with particular reference to the Bruti, were current in Rome long before the Ides of March is clear from both literary sources and coinage.²⁸

The other core authors who mention this same legend and are writing after the assassination must be scrutinized for references to the contemporary political climate. Nicolaus clearly links the memory of Brutus' heritage with his ability to motivate followers in his plot:

The reputation which had long been attached to the Brutii was very influential in causing the uprising, for Brutus' ancestors had overthrown the kings who ruled from the time of Romulus, and they had first established republican government in Rome. (Nic. F130.19.9–11)

The fragments of Diodorus make no such direct connection. His mention of Tarquinius Superbus' accession to the throne by murdering Servius Tullius clearly vilifies the last king (10.1), but is not particularly flattering to the Bruti:

King Lucius Tarquinius ruled in a tyrannical and violent fashion and made it his practice to slay the wealthy citizens among the Romans, advancing false charges against them in order to appropriate their possessions. Consequently Lucius Junius [Brutus], since he was an orphan and the wealthiest of all the Romans, for both these reasons viewed with mistrust Tarquin's

²⁸ Nep. *Att.* 18.3 gives testimony that Atticus composed a genealogy of the family. Cic. *Att.* 44.2–3 SB = 2.24.2–3 (59 bc) links Brutus to his ancestors L. Iunius Brutus and C. Servilius Ahala. Most interesting are the coins of 54 bc (RRC 433/1 and 2), two of which display L. Iunius Brutus, one juxtaposed with the head of 'Liberty' and the other with the head of C. Servilius Ahala.

grasping ambition; and because he was the king's nephew and therefore close to him on every occasion, he acted the part of a stupid person, his purpose being both to avoid arousing envy because of any ability of his, and at the same time to observe, without rousing suspicion, whatever was taking place and to watch for the favourable moment to strike at the royal power. (Diod. 10.22)

The king's habit of using false accusations for material gain foreshadows the behaviour of many in the Late Republic; Diodorus himself condemns this same behaviour when it is practised by Fimbria during his campaigns in the east (38/9.8.3). Although the deception and false stupidity of Brutus seem in noted contrast with the 'traditional values' associated with Rome, this episode could be read as a partial fulfilment of the prophesy of Remus from earlier in Diodorus' narrative that at Rome 'right fortune' will originate from 'sinister designs' (8.5).

Nothing from Trogus survives regarding the Bruti, but his omission of the fall of the monarchy is notable. The prologues confirm the epitome in having the narration of early Rome end with Tarquinius Priscus, thus avoiding all reference to the incident (*Prolog.* 43 and 43.3.4). This seems to be part of Trogus' distaste for treating sensitive aspects of Roman legends in his own voice. By contrast he allows Mithridates to slander the Romans for having kings called *Superbi*, 'The Arrogant Ones' (38.6.7), indicating full awareness of the tradition he carefully avoids endorsing.

Trogus' unique use of Italic connections with a Hellenistic approach to ethnography, and these final examples of non-Romans treating purely Roman legends, and particularly legends of relevance to the Late Republic and the assassination of Caesar, indicate a growing degree of comfort among provincial intellectuals in utilizing the reference points of the newly dominant group. This is a healthy corrective to over-eager attempts to view the 'culture' of the Roman empire as purely Greek in origin, even within the Greek-speaking world.²⁹

²⁹ Of a similarly corrective perspective is G. Woolf, 'Becoming Roman, Staying Greek: Culture, Identity and the Civilising Process in the Roman East', *PCPS* 40 (1994), 116–43.

The Conceptualization of Roman Culture

Like aetiological myths, ethnography is a means by which the 'other'³⁰ is separated from the primary reference point, and by which the author defines himself and his audience in terms of opposition to another culture. For the modern reader, the habits of the writer, historian or otherwise, who engages in ethnographic discourse are identifiable through his assumption of disparity; to him and his reader, differences need explanation, while similarities occasion surprise. The distance from Rome each of the core authors felt is embedded in the aspects of *Romanitas* which they selected for further discussion and explanation.

In places the historical texts leave aside the narrative of events in order to highlight some aspect of Roman practice or belief. Often this is no more than a few words or a single sentence. At a few points the authors choose to explore an ambiguity or defining characteristic at greater length. Most such passages with an ethnographic or 'explanatory' character can be divided broadly into three categories, those which discuss constitutional issues, names and titles, and morality or standards of conduct. By considering how these themes are treated more generally within the various histories it is possible to identify the way in which the core authors perceived Rome as 'foreign' to themselves and their intended audience, and also to identify the authors' assumptions about and knowledge of Rome.

Power and Authority in the Roman Government

For certain historians, such as Diodorus and Trogus, the concept of the Roman state with which they operate is so fully formed that there

³⁰ The concept of 'the other' and 'otherness' has been overexploited in recent publications on classical studies, especially with reference to ancient ethnography and Greek social history. Although approaching jargon, the concept still retains value in its ability to acknowledge the creator's impact in shaping his presentation of that which he considers different from himself. Some productive studies in the application of this concept include B. Cohen's introduction to *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* (2000), 6–20, in which she explores not only the application in the volume itself, but also the history of the concept as applied to classical studies; the application of the theory can be seen in V. J. Gray, 'Herodotus and the Rhetoric of Otherness', *AJPhil.* 116 (1995), 185–211, which explores types of otherness in the historian, namely master–subject and male–female distinctions.

is little question about their understanding of the power structures in place at Rome. Diodorus shows a greater interest than Trogus in Roman domestic politics; he also records the more technical aspects of Roman law and custom, whereas Trogus puts forth only the structures which actually have an impact on his narrative. These two different approaches are not surprising given the place of Rome within each narrative. However, with more fragmentary historical texts it is difficult to have confidence in the author's understanding of the fundamental workings of the Roman constitution. Even when we have a coherent presentation such as that found in book six of Polybius, the perspective of non-Romans offers a unique opportunity to identify those parts of the system which are exaggerated, ignored or misconstrued.³¹ This is especially true in digressive introductions which are by nature abbreviated discussions, such as in 1 Maccabees and Memnon.

The discussion which is found in 1 Maccabees is part of the justification for the Jewish request for an alliance, and thus entails positive values which both the protagonist in the history, Judas, and the historian himself wish to believe Rome possesses.

Yet for all this [successful conquest] not one of them has put on a crown [διάδημα] or worn purple as a mark of pride, but they have built for themselves a senate chamber, and every day 320 senators constantly deliberate concerning the people, to govern them well. They trust one man each year to rule over them and to control all their land; they all heed the one man, and there is no envy or jealousy among them. (1 Macc. 8.14–16)

The rejection of kingship is a common enough topos in various characterizations of Rome, but it is unusual to find such a denial of a regal period. The exact details of the form of government are surely intended to inspire belief in the reader, but even these contain gross errors. It is remarkable that such mistakes could be made in a period where Rome held such influence. Certain explanations have been proposed to lessen the errors. For instance, the number 320 might be explained by combining the number of magistrates each year with the number of senators, but this seems unsatisfactory given the lack

³¹ On Greek conceptions of the Roman constitution, see C. Ando, 'Was Rome a Polis?', *Cl. Ant.* 18.1 (1999), 5–34. On book six of Polybius, see F. W. Walbank, 'Polybius on the Roman Constitution', *CQ* 37 (1943), 73–89, and 'A Greek Looks at Rome: Polybius VI Revisited', *SCI* 17 (1998), 45–59.

of understanding regarding the magistracies themselves.³² This latter difficulty, namely the suggestion of there being one annual ruler instead of the two consuls with a host of lesser magistrates, has also been justified, this time by suggesting that as foreign peoples were only likely to engage with the magistrate sent to their area, it might appear to them that there was only one general per annum. Again, this cannot be a full explanation given the clear suggestion in the history itself that the Jews sent delegations to Rome itself and received letters and other Roman documents which must have been dated by the consular year, as was the prevailing custom. I have seen no reasonable explanation for the assertion that the Senate met daily.

Given this high degree of inaccuracy, we can only conclude that either the author himself was unaware of the truth, or he was confident that his audience, the Jewish reading public, would be ignorant of the reality, thus allowing him to sculpt, even falsify, the narrative as he wished. There can be no easy decision between these two possibilities. The wholehearted denial of a regal element in Rome is part of the overall argument that Rome is the natural enemy of kings and thus the natural ally of the Jews, who are threatened by two monarchies, the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucids of Syria. The characterization of the Senate and the annual magistracy, especially the loyalty they received and the lack of rivalry among individual Romans, has been seen as a parallel to systems in place in Judaea, thus providing the audience with a degree of comfort in the similarities.³³ This seems a shaky parallel, as the dominant power in Judaea at this time was the high priest, whose inherited office was held for life. Moreover, 1 Maccabees is highly concerned with justifying the legitimacy of the Hasmonaeen dynasty. Instead, I would propose that this characterization of Roman rule is simply designed to further glorify the strength of the Romans and reassure the Jewish public as to the honourable character of their allies, a characterization which minimizes any parallel between the Romans and their oppressors and suggests no imperialistic designs among the Roman ruling classes.³⁴

³² J. C. Dancy, *A Commentary on 1 Maccabees* (1954), 127.

³³ *Ibid.*, 128 and J. R. Bartlett, *1 Maccabees* (1998), 82.

³⁴ This section as a justification has also been interpreted as using Rome as a model for the Jewish nation to follow, proposed by M. Smith, 'Rome and the Maccabean Conversions—Notes on I Macc. 8', in E. Bammel *et al.* (eds.), *Donum*

This well-sculpted, albeit inaccurate, portrayal of the Roman constitution is in sharp contrast with the simplistic statements found in the introduction to Rome in the epitome of Memnon's history. This summary has a chronological approach, starting with a synopsis of the foundation stories, and proceeding to the constitutional discussion in relation to the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the consuls. From there it continues with a list of conquests up to Antiochus. This reference to the origins of the Republican constitution might suggest a clearer understanding of Roman government. However, Memnon also seems to have a limited conception of the power structure of Rome.

Perhaps the clearest means of identifying an author's conception of Roman power structures is simply to identify those groups and individuals who are represented as having legitimate authority to take decisions and implement them. Since Memnon's history has such a strong focus on individual military commanders, but lacks clarity over Latin titles (these characteristics will be fully illustrated in later sections), we might suspect that he had little conception of the structure of the Republican government. Nevertheless, Memnon seems aware of the authority of the Senate, especially over generals. This is reminiscent of Polybius' assertion that Greeks tended to think (wrongly) of Rome as an oligarchy, because the majority of decisions concerning foreign affairs were taken by the Senate (6.13.9). In Memnon's narrative, it is the Senate which dispatches generals (Mur-

Gentilicium (1978), 1–7. This interpretation first makes the assumption that the piece was written under John, and then makes assumptions about the political climate of the day to which the text might be responding. It is true that this perspective on Rome makes much of those characteristics which the city shares with the Jews, from the misrepresented system of government to the extraction of tribute from subjugated peoples. However, the article in question would like to draw a further parallel between Rome's forced incorporation of conquered peoples at least into its manpower base, if not always into the citizenship, and the Maccabees' habit of forced conversions to Judaism, including circumcision. This parallel, while interesting for an investigation of possible Hellenistic solutions to the management of the acquisition of empire, is not readily suggested by 1 Macc. 8. Moreover, Smith seems to accept the expansionist tendencies of the Maccabees, an idea strongly denounced in Schürer, *History* i.142. Furthermore, Schürer assumes that the testimony on the Maccabean programme of circumcision indicates that it was carried out only on the young children who had remained uncut because of the recent decrees of Antiochus (*History* i.158).

ena, 26.1; Lucullus and Cotta, 27.1), although this was not always the case in reality.³⁵ In the first diplomatic exchange 'Poplius' Aemilius wrote a letter on behalf of the Senate (18.6), but the subsequent three exchanges, even the final one which established a treaty, make no mention of the Senate. But it is the Senate in Rome which decides who shall be king over the Bithynians (22.5). Contrary to his own desire, Sulla is obedient to the order of the Senate that Athens should not be destroyed (22.11). Memnon suggests that Flaccus and Fimbria would be willing to disobey the order of the Senate to aid Sulla, if faced with an opportunity to join battle separately (24.1). Yet once Fimbria usurps Flaccus' command, the Senate is said to be displeased, but instead of taking punitive action they supposedly vote Fimbria consular power (24.3). The condensed text seems to suggest that it is this vote which allows Fimbria to become commander of the whole force. In other words, it appears as if he conducted the rest of the campaign with legitimate power. There is no other evidence for such a vote. Finally, the trial of Cotta reveals the full power of the Senate over its members—they could have exiled Cotta, but they mercifully only stripped him of his rank. All this demonstrates that Memnon did not have a sophisticated (or accurate) understanding of the function of the Senate or its relationship to the magistrates, but he did see it as an ultimate authority.

This same technique can be applied to those authors whose texts are too fragmentary to provide any extended narrative, Posidonius and Nicolaus. In just a few fragments we can see the power to act being held by all different parts of the Roman state. One fragment of Nicolaus (F75) has Sulla distributing public land to mimes and actors because of his personal love of comedy;³⁶ another (F78) demonstrates the people's power to negate immoral wills. In Athenion's speech in Posidonius it is the Senate which has deliberately prolonged anarchy for the Athenians until it has made a decision as to how they should be best governed (Ath. 5.213D = F253 E-K = F36 Jac.). From this we learn no more than we might expect: the variations in the application of power under the Republic are reflected in

³⁵ Murena was left behind by Sulla with two Fimbrian legions (App. *Mith.* 265).

³⁶ As an aside, it must be realized that the land grants need not have been in Italy. Consider for comparison Antony's behaviour in Asia in 41 BC, as reported by Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 24.1–4.

the sources. Moreover, it is only in 1 Maccabees that the Roman constitution is given particular ethnographic scrutiny by the author. He sculpts his explanation of the Roman power structure so as to fulfil his narrative objective—the validation of Judas’ decision—with little regard for historical accuracy; this manipulation is made possible by the very ‘otherness’ of Rome when looked at from the viewpoint of a traditional Jew of Hebraic education. In the remaining core authors Rome’s government is simply a further narrative element, rarely needing explanation. They accept the Senate, people and individual commanders as typical historical characters who may in certain situations wield *imperium*.

Names and Titles

While in practice Roman names and titles offer few problems for the narrative, their unusual forms, which contrasted with typical Hellenistic practice, led to the historians’ turning an ethnographic eye on these aspects of Roman culture.

Posidonius reflected on a most basic problem of reconciling the Greek system (of one name with additional epithet or patronymic only if required) and the Roman system (F264 E-K = F60 Jac.).³⁷ He argues against the growing custom from Sulla onwards of identifying the cognomen (the third name, which was often descriptive) as the primary label by which an individual Roman should be identified. His logic is based on the argument that many significant men had only two names, such as Marius. Instead, he favours the traditional Greek habit of using the praenomen (the first name, which was often drawn from a very limited selection and further constrained by family custom) to identify individual Romans—this was the practice of such forerunners as Polybius. While Posidonius obviously struggled with the details of the Roman system and attempted to clarify them for his readers, he himself in practice seems to have followed common usage when discussing Romans in his own writings, often using cognomina.

Besides his general discourse on the nature of Roman names, Posidonius speculated on the origins of ‘Marcellus’ (F261 E-K =

³⁷ See J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (1979), 146–60.

F41 Jac.). He seems to have considered it an agnomen of sorts, in that he claims that Marcus Claudius, 'Sacker of Syracuse', was the first to hold the title and that it means 'man of war', deriving from the name of the god, Mars. While he is wrong on both counts,³⁸ it is indicative of his awareness that a Roman name could be descriptive of an original victor and then inherited by his descendants. Moreover, by using a deity from the Roman pantheon, he is actively combining various parts of his understanding of Roman culture.

Other writers were equally fascinated by Roman names, and in particular the agnomen (or 'honorific name'). Diodorus, while giving a dissertation on the heritage of Scipio Nasica (cos. 111 BC), takes time to highlight the practice of 'acquired names' among distinguished families (34/5.33). In this case he has as his example the Scipios: the agnomina in question are Africanus, Asiaticus, and Hispanus. He explains how each is tied to a particular individual and his military achievement. Memnon similarly mentions Cotta's acquisition of the name 'Ponticus' because of his success over Heraclea (39.1). He seems to suggest that this honour was granted by the Senate.

With titles, it is again those cases where Roman traditions are sharply contrasted with Hellenistic practices which elicit comment or misunderstanding in non-Roman writers. For instance, Diodorus explains how and why one might be hailed as *imperator*, saying that 6,000 enemy dead were required for the honour (36.14).³⁹ He chooses to transliterate the Latin word, instead of trying to supply a Greek translation. Diodorus is here trying to act as mediator between his audience and Roman culture.

Nicolaus adopts a similar tone of explanation when he defines Caesar's position, making reference to *αὐτοκρατορικός . . . τιμᾶς* and saying that this was the highest rank which could be gained according to Roman custom. The two English translators of Nicolaus' *Life of Caesar Augustus* disagree about which Roman title is indicated;

³⁸ Marcelli held the consulship in 331 BC and 287 BC (Broughton, *MRR* I.143 and 185).

³⁹ Some confusion arises with this fragment, because it appears that Photius has further glossed 'imperator' (*ἱμπεράτορα*), saying it is equivalent to 'king' (*βασιλέα*). Such an explanation can only be the work of someone familiar with the titulature of the Imperial family, i.e. not Diodorus. On the title itself, the most comprehensive study is still D. McFayden, *The History of the Title 'imperator' under the Roman Empire* (1920).

Bellemore gives ‘dictator’, but Hall favours ‘imperator’.⁴⁰ Nicolaus’ gloss regarding the pre-eminent status of the bearer is problematic. If he means the dictatorship, then he must mean the most powerful magistracy, i.e. the one with the greatest *imperium*, as represented by the 24 lictors. Yet if he is thinking of ‘imperator’, the status is not one of governmental function, but instead of military honour. We might compare Polybius’ description of the Roman funeral where in the parade of ancestors the participants are arranged by rank, with the triumphator coming before censor or consul (6.53.7). We cannot accuse Nicolaus of ignorance for our lack of understanding of his statement. However, it is fair to wonder if his Greek audience also would have been left unclear on Caesar’s actual position.

In contrast, Memnon’s use of *αὐτοκράτωρ* illustrates the author’s own lack of comprehension. This Greek word (meaning possessing full powers) is the common translation of two Roman titles—dictator and imperator—which are firmly rooted in the Republican period. It is also used as a translation of ‘imperator’ when this forms part of the titulature of an emperor. A historian of the Imperial period might retrospectively use the word to translate one of the Republican titles when writing about the Republican era (cf. Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 8), but Memnon’s use is far from consistent or exact. The following five passages illustrate this point.

Lucullus, Cotta, and Triarius, the Roman *autokratores* generals, being at Nicomedeia, set out one by one to invade Pontus. (Mem. 29.5)⁴¹

Here the term seems to be almost adjectival, as if it is employed for the original Greek meaning, describing the quality and independence of their commands. If one insisted on reading a translation of a Latin title here, then Memnon’s application of ‘imperator’ to Triarius would be unsubstantiated in other sources and unlikely to be correct given that he was a legate, not a commander with *imperium* in his own right.

For Tigranes did not address Lucullus in writing as *autokrator*, saying that he had never called Mithridates ‘king of kings’ in his letters. (Mem. 31.3)⁴²

⁴⁰ Bellemore makes a strong case for her preference in her commentary, 81–2.

⁴¹ Λεύκολλος δὲ καὶ Κόττας ὁ Τριάριος οἱ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορες στρατηγοί, ἐπὶ τῆς Νικομηδείας καθὲν γενόμενοι ὥρμητο εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἐμβαλεῖν (Mem. 29.5).

⁴² οὐ γὰρ ἐνέγραψεν αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι μηδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκείνον κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέα βασιλέων προσηγόρευσεν (Mem. 31.3).

Clearly, in this case it is a title, and one which Lucullus insisted be used when he was addressed.⁴³

At this time, Lucullus, the *autokrator* of the Romans, came close to the city, and began to besiege it with full force. (Mem. 37.5)⁴⁴

Here the word seems equivalent to 'general' or 'commander', in that it takes the genitive of an ethnic. If we knew less of the historical context, the sentence could be misconstrued to mean that Lucullus was the sole or primary ruler of the Romans.

Indeed, when Cotta arrived in Rome, he met with honour from the Senate, to be called 'Ponticus' *autokrator*, because he captured Heraclea. (Mem. 39.1)⁴⁵

The text is unclear. If we should understand that Memnon thought that the title 'imperator' was being given to Cotta by the Senate along with an agnomen or as part of such a name, then we have a contradiction with the use of the word in the first passage (29.5) to describe Cotta, and we must assume further confusion because the privilege to grant this title lay in the hands of the army under a general's command, not the Senate.

Nevertheless Brithagorus did not give up, but both he himself and Proculus, going around nearly the whole world with Caesar, were observed by him, so that the *autokrator*, approving of the supplication, accepted him. (Mem. 40.3)⁴⁶

Of course, the title 'imperator', especially as it foreshadows the line of emperors, can be applied to Caesar, but with the lack of clarity in its employment elsewhere in Memnon, perhaps it would be better to understand the use here as an allusion to the nature of Caesar's authority. The point of this analysis is to show that Memnon did

⁴³ Compare Cicero's regular use of the title in his letters: *Fam.* 3 SB = 5.7 to Pompey, 65 SB = 3.2 to Appius Pulcher, and 110 SB = 15.4 to Cato, but applying the title to himself.

⁴⁴ 'Εν τούτῳ δὲ Λεύκολλος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ παραγίνεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ κραταιῶς ἐπολιόρκει (Mem. 37.5).

⁴⁵ 'Ο δὲ δὴ Κόττας ὡς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο, τιμῆς παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου τυγχάνει Ποντικὸς αὐτοκράτωρ καλεῖσθαι, ὅτι ἔλοι τὴν Ἡράκλειαν (Mem. 39.1).

⁴⁶ Οὐκ ἀβίστατο μέντοι γε Βριθαγόρας, ἀλλὰ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην αὐτὸς τε καὶ Πρόπυλος συμπεριγόμενος τῷ Καίσαρι ἐβλέπετο παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπισημειούμενον τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῆς λιπαρήσεως αὐτὸν ἀποδέχεσθαι (Mem. 40.3).

not use the term *αὐτοκράτωρ* in such a way as to suggest that he fully understood its range of meanings when applied in a Roman context; this should not be surprising in an author writing on the edges of the Roman world, whose main concern is documenting local events, and who only treats Rome as it impinges on the lives of the Heracleans.

Thus we have identified two separate aspects of the core authors: on the one hand authors who find certain Roman names and titles alien and in need of explanation to their intended audience, and on the other hand authors who failed to apply Roman titulature in a clear or accurate manner. This is not dissimilar to the pattern outlined in the previous section on representations of the Roman constitution. The distinction between misunderstanding and novelty is particularly significant, because the former suggests actual distance from Rome and the latter perceived distance. The perceived distance has challenged the historian to act as mediator between his own cultural context and that of the Romans. Thus it is not the points of misunderstanding, but of conscious representation which allow us to reconstruct authorial perspectives and assumptions.

Morality and Standards of Conduct

Within all the core texts there are certain gross generalizations of 'Roman' behaviour, sometimes applied to the whole Roman people, sometimes to individuals or groups typifying the characteristic. Such statements have their origin both in the Romans' own self-constructed image and in the reactions of the authors and their peers. The role of this type of passage within a historical work is often to explain a specific action or broader series of events. They are also part of the authors' most overt didacticism—passages in which they clearly and concisely inform their audience how one should conceive of the Romans. While many of the following statements will seem sycophantic (or in a few cases morally disapproving), in fact they are part of the authors' systems for wider narrative treatment. Praise of a characteristic in one individual can condemn its absence in another. Moral condemnation may praise those who acted to correct it.

An excellent example of praise for the Roman character is found in a fragment taken from Athenaeus:

For their ancestral habit, as Posidonius says, was hardihood, plain living and simple and uncomplicated use of material possessions in general, and moreover a remarkable piety with regard to the divinity, and justice and great care to avoid sinning against any man, together with the practice of agriculture. (Pos. F266 E-K = F59 Jac.)

Here we learn of no specific custom or behaviour of the Romans. Instead, Posidonius gives a broad impressionistic account highlighting many themes which are familiar from Roman writings. The implicit praise of the agrarian lifestyle may reflect the Roman belief that land investments were the only proper form of income for a man of senatorial class (and the best occupation for other citizens as well),⁴⁷ or the idea that farmers made the best soldiers. Contemporary Roman interest in such matters is seen through writings such as Cato's and Varro's treatises on agriculture, and also in the rhetoric surrounding the many agrarian bills of the Late Republic. Piety is likewise a cardinal virtue among the Romans, as manifested through respect for omens and the care taken to fulfil vows.⁴⁸ The final point of interest in this passage is the reference to such behaviour as part of the ancestral habit. Two interpretations are possible. It may refer to *mos maiorum* and the Roman emphasis on following the patterns and traditions of former generations. Or it may be an allusion to the 'decline' in Roman society, in that this was the way of the past, implying a different present and future. If Athenaeus took over the use of the imperfect tense of the verb 'to be' from Posidonius, then the latter would seem more likely.

Again we see Posidonius as an author well in tune with Roman society and its own *topoi*. This, however, brings us no closer to understanding *why* he chose to include such generalized statements of an ethnographic character in his historical writing. One answer of course is his own approach to a genre, which regularly involves much autopsy of cultural practices.⁴⁹ In this respect we see the same

⁴⁷ S. Treggiari, 'The Careful Paterfamilias' Views on Agrarian Investment: A Review of Dennis P. Kehoe's *Investment, Profit, and Tenancy: The Jurists and the Roman Agrarian Economy* (Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1997), *JRA* 12 (1999), 737–44.

⁴⁸ J. Champeaux, 'Pietas': piété personnelle et piété collective à Rome', *BAGB* 3 (1989), 263–79.

⁴⁹ For discussion in context, see A. Dihle, 'Zur hellenistischen Ethnographie', *Grecs et barbares: six exposés et discussions* (1962), 205–39; on Posidonius alone, see

approach, which is usually applied to groups on the fringes of the Mediterranean world, also used to present the new centrally dominant power. In the 'us and them' mentality of the ethnographic approach, even when the portrayal of 'them' is idealized and constitutes a study of virtuous living, the style of the report still separates the subject and the observers. Such alienation can just as easily be the result of 'awe' as of 'disdain': compare the distance between the mortal man and the hero and also between the human and the monstrous. If, as suggested above, Posidonius was also participating in the rhetoric of decline, that topos has itself a unique set of motives and manifestations which will be explored in greater detail below.

In the significantly larger corpus of fragments from Diodorus' *Library* we can observe how statements very similar to those made by Posidonius are worked into the account of events. An assertion of piety—'for the Romans are very prone to fear in matters of religion'—accompanies the reception of Battaces, a visiting priest of Magna Mater, which at first elicits criticism from certain political factions because of the regal and extravagant character of the man's dress, though this quickly changes to reverence when a denouncer falls ill (102 BC, Diod. 36.13.3).⁵⁰ Similarly, when Saturninus, as a tribune, accused the ambassadors of Mithridates of bribing senators, he himself is accused. Diodorus assures his audience that 'the trial held in public was of great import because of the inviolability

I. G. Kidd, 'Posidonius as Philosopher-Historian', in M. Griffin and J. Barnes (eds.), *Philosophia Togata I* (1989), 38–50, esp. 39–41, and Kidd, *Comm.*, 67–8. Also consider Ath. 4.151E = T80 E-K = T12a Jac.: 'Posidonius, the Stoic, in the History which he composed in a manner consonant with the philosophy he had adopted, in recording many habits and customs from many people, says . . . Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς ἐν ταῖς στορίαις αἷς συνέθηκεν οὐκ ἀλλοτρίως ἥς προήρητο φιλοσοφίας πολλὰ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἔθιμα καὶ νόμια ἀναγράφων . . . φησί . . .'. Surviving fragments of an ethnographic character are numerous: F53 E-K = F1 Jac.; F57 E-K = F5 Jac.; F60 E-K = F8 Jac.; F67 E-K = F15 and 18 Jac.; F68 E-K = F16 Jac.; F69 E-K = F17 Jac.; F73 E-K = F22 Jac.; F266 and 267 E-K = F59 Jac.; F268 E-K = F57a Jac.; F269 E-K = F58a Jac.; F272 E-K = F31 Jac.; F274 E-K = F55 Jac.; F275 E-K; F276 E-K = F56 Jac.; F277b E-K.

⁵⁰ D. G. Glew, 'Publicans or Sinners? Why the Battaces Came to Rome in 102 BC', *Klio* 69 (1987), 122–37. It is interesting to note that Diodorus gives a particularly negative interpretation of the need for this priestly visit, the defilement of the temple in Rome, while Plut. *Vit. Mar.* 17.5–6 chooses a much more positive presentation. This incident is yet another topic which many have wanted to attribute to Posidonius; see both *ibid.*, n.1 and Jac., n.183.

attached to ambassadors and the Romans' habitual detestation of any wrongdoing where embassies were concerned; it was therefore a capital charge of which Saturninus stood accused' (101 BC, Diod. 36.15.2). These interpretations, based on Roman ethics and justice, elevate the events in question above simple factional rivalries. Instead, both instances highlight moments in which political leaders have slipped from the normal pattern of Roman behaviour and the greater portion of the population has pulled the course of events back within the standards of the community. However, as the narrative around Saturninus concludes with his acquittal, one begins to suspect that Diodorus is also hinting at the theme of decline.

In the development of the characterization of Roman virtues, Trogus seems to prefer repetition of examples to generalization in single sweeping statements. He still incorporates a sense of distance, but instead of using his own or his audience's reaction, he employs the surprise of the characters within the history. A good illustration of this is the Roman habit of putting public obligations above private; two stories in Trogus' narrative pick up this theme. Popilius is described as one of those Romans who had made friends with Antiochus IV while he was a hostage in Rome. When he is sent as an ambassador to ensure the king's withdrawal from Egypt, he tells Antiochus their friendship must be set aside in public matters. His actions are famously harsh. He drew a circle around Antiochus and his counsellors, telling them to develop a response to the Senate before they moved from the spot (34.3.2–4). Antiochus III, when negotiating with the Scipios, presented Africanus with his son who had been taken prisoner. Africanus told Antiochus that he was grateful for the gift, but it could only be of value in a private context. He would not even allow the matter to be raised in the Senate (31.7.4–7). This too shows a familiarity with Roman narratives: the theme of fathers sacrificing their sons for the benefit of the state comes up repeatedly in histories of early Rome.⁵¹

It is perhaps noteworthy that Trogus does not allow this value to be the exclusive domain of the Romans. He also chooses to highlight

⁵¹ The theme was so popular that Valerius Maximus included a section 'on the severity of fathers towards their children' in his *Memorable Doings and Sayings* (5.8). See D. R. Shackleton Bailey's new edition (2000) in the Loeb Classical Library for references to other sources in classical literature.

its manifestation in the Parthian kingdom, saying, 'Phrahaates passed over all of these [his own sons], however, preferring to leave the kingdom to his brother Mithridates, a man of renowned integrity. He thought that the obligations he had as king outweighed those he had as a father, and that his country's interests should take precedence over his children's' (Trogus 41.5.6). This third, non-Roman, example may provide a clue to the author's overall feeling of the relevance of this characteristic. Trogus portrays the Parthians as a rival empire (see chapter 6 for further discussion). The elevation of the needs of the state over private desires in this context becomes part of the foundation on which a state with ambitions towards hegemony can be built.

Of course, when looking for similarities between Rome and other peoples it is more common to see the parallels within close geographical proximity. It is worthwhile to note the few ethnographic parallels used by these authors. The passage on Roman character from Posidonius, quoted above, is juxtaposed by Athenaeus with Posidonius' account of contemporary Italian habits; he reports that they were restrained in meeting their basic needs, emphasizing how wealthy families trained their sons to drink water and eat very sparingly (F267 E-K = F59 Jac.). The ferocity and austerity evident in Nicolaus' two passages on Roman tradition (F75 and F78) bear a close resemblance to his sentiments in the ethnographic statements regarding other Italic communities (F103b.1, F103c, F108, F111). While cultural descriptions tend to be written in the deceptive 'ethnographic present', Nicolaus must have been conscious that not only the practices, but also the peoples of Italy he was describing, had been superseded by Rome—just as he knew that the Romans themselves no longer practised many of the values which had become part of their cultural identity. Nicolaus' fragment on Roman gladiatorial contests (F78) specifically traces their origins to the Etruscans, but concedes that the Romans took the custom beyond the public and religious settings of the theatre and festal days into the private domestic sphere of the banquet. Nicolaus' aetiological statement probably reflects some awareness of the Romans' own claims regarding their development. Compare Diodorus' ethnographic treatment of the Etruscans:

They were also the authors of that dignity which surrounds rulers, providing their rulers with lictors and an ivory stool and a toga with a purple band, and

in connection with their houses they invented the peristyle, a useful device for avoiding the confusion connected with the attending throngs, and these things were adopted for the most part by the Romans, who added to their embellishment and transferred them to their own political institutions. Letters, and the teaching about Nature and the Gods they also brought to greater perfection, and they elaborated the art of divination by thunder and lightning more than all other men, and it is for this reason that the people who rule practically the entire inhabited world show honour to these men even to this day and employ them as interpreters of the omens of Zeus as they appear in thunder and lightning. (5.40.1–2)

Here a whole host of traditional symbols of Roman power are attributed to Etruscan origin. Yet it is only the symbols that they adopt; the Romans are allowed to retain credit for their own unique institutions. Roman reliance on Etruscan seers is used by Diodorus as just another example of their piety.

A further characterization of Roman morality which the historians develop is the socially imposed consequences of behaviour, ideal or otherwise. These individual situations are the illustrations and applications of the *mores* outlined in the more generalizing statements just discussed. The value system becomes an active force within the chain of events—explaining why particular patterns of behaviour are linked to particular results. The logic applied in the following examples, which include both positive and negative instances, is closely related to that seen in the more generalized topos of Roman decline.

Of all the core authors, Diodorus is the most committed to demonstrating that the Roman system was such that uprightness was rewarded with success, and depravity with strong rebuke. We have already begun to witness this characteristic of his style in the previous examples of the reception of Battaces (36.13) and Saturninus' attack on Mithridates' ambassadors (36.15). However, separating that cause and effect which is imposed by Roman culture and that which derives from Diodorus' understanding of the workings of fortune is not always possible.⁵² Beyond portraying the just nature of Roman reactions, the historian also attributes much to a more

⁵² R. J. M. Camacho, 'El concepto de Tyche en Diodoro de Sicilia', *Estudios de filología griega* 2 (1986), 151–67, and 'Actitudes del hombre frente a la Tyche en la Biblioteca Histórica de Diodoro de Sicilia', *Estudios de filología griega* 2 (1986), 169–91.

general idea of divine retribution. The following quote is perhaps his most explicit statement on such matters:

Fortune is wont to veer towards what is morally fitting, and to involve those who have contrived some injustice against others in the same difficulties themselves... perhaps for the present they exercise tyrannical power, but later they will have to render an accounting for their tyrannical crimes.⁵³

Nevertheless, in certain cases Diodorus make it clear that it is culture and not just fortune which creates rewards and punishments. Marius is held up as a natural talent at warfare, and in this he is contrasted sharply with his fellow legates during the early stages of the war against Jugurtha under the command of Q. Caecilius Metellus (cos. 109 BC). The first dominant characteristic is his courage, but the second, and apparently equally important, is his ability to win the favour of the troops. This is done through gifts, regular contact, and praise. Diodorus suggests a high degree of correlation between the favour of the troops and success in battle. The whole of the description culminates in a broad statement of how Roman hegemony was always enhanced under Marius, but suffered setbacks under others (Diod. 34/5.38). Thus, this early point in Marius' career allows Diodorus to illustrate those behaviours which are likely to produce a successful Roman commander: personal valour is one component, but the most significant element is the cultivation of relations with the soldiery. That Diodorus should come to such a conclusion while living through the rise of Julius Caesar and the early years of the Second Triumvirate is hardly surprising. Diodorus wants his audience to be aware that the loyalty of the soldiery is a direct consequence of good behaviour on the part of the commander.

We may be confident that such analysis is meant to be applied beyond the single historical instance because of its thematic recurrence in other parts of Diodorus' narrative. His introduction of Pompey reads as a panegyric for the military lifestyle (38/9.9, from *de virtutibus et vitiis*). Diodorus makes an explicit connection between his willingness to suffer discomfort and his ability to win the highest honours. He declined all leisure. His diet was sparse and he ate sitting up; he avoided bathing and the society of self-indulgent

⁵³ Diod. 37.17; the lacuna may only be missing *εἰ γὰρ καὶ*, as suggested by Boissevain, or it may represent the beginning of a new fragment

men; he denied himself sleep and spent the hours of darkness studying problems of strategy. All this is said to have contributed to his youthful readiness for military leadership. Those at Rome are said to have disbelieved the reports of his prowess, but when they sent out Iunius against him, the defeat of the Marian force was inevitable. The other fragment of Diodorus on the early years of Pompey's career (38/9.10, from *de sententiis*) presents Sulla's reaction to the young man's successes. The historian records how Sulla uses the example of Pompey to chastise the senators in his presence about their own lack of ability. We can be confident that the reader is supposed to share Sulla's reaction in this case, since the preceding sentences equate Pompey's success with his virtues. The use of Sulla's perspective as well as explicit authorial statements helps Diodorus emphasize that the connection between self-discipline and military success was specifically part of the Roman ideological system.

Trogus also uses individual instances to express aspects of Roman morality, and to demonstrate how it punishes vice, as well as rewarding virtue. He tells his readers that 'Crassus had his mind more on the treasure of Attalus III than on the conduct of the war. As the year closed, he joined battle with his army in disorder, suffered defeat, and paid with his blood for his reckless greed' (Trogus 36.4.8). The message of this passage is clear: avaricious designs inhibit good leadership, but we are left wondering to whom Trogus is speaking. The moral seems more applicable to a Roman audience, not one located in the provinces. By contrast, the passages from Diodorus just discussed seem to attempt to reassure those under Roman hegemony that those who attain authority in Rome are worthy of their positions, although, perhaps, Diodorus also hoped to inspire ambitious Romans to exploit virtuous behaviours in their quest for power.

Of course, such models do not apply only to military leaders. Provincial governors are also popular targets for didactic examples on the outcome of good and bad choices. In the historical texts it is not just Roman citizens that are shown to praise or denounce Roman behaviour, but also the provincials themselves. Diodorus emphasizes how Scaevola's novel approach to his governorship, namely frugality and fairness, is said to have earned him quasi-divine honours in his province and many tributes from his fellow citizens (Diod. 37.6). Lucullus and Servilius were punished for their failures in Sicily

against the slaves (Diod. 36.8.5–9.2). Even domestic politicians in Rome are portrayed as subject to the consequences of their actions at the hands of their fellow citizens. Saturninus is described as licentious, idle, and frivolous, and for all these reasons was removed from his position as quaestor directing the transport of grain from Ostia to Rome. Yet when he corrected his habits and became sober in manner, he was elected as a tribune of the people (Diod. 36.12). What Diodorus does not say is that this reform in character happened in time for the very next elections. It would seem that Diodorus is attempting to present the judgement of the plebs as based on some morality, instead of just heedlessly electing a candidate who had failed in his last post.

As we move on to theories of decline in Roman moral standards, it is important to remember that decline in the Republic is not necessarily an 'anti-Roman' theme. It can be indicative of, among other things, a pro-Augustan attitude, in which the decline of the Republic is a necessary and sufficient justification of his 'restoration'. It also echoes the sentiments of some of the bastions of *Romanitas* and republicanism, such as Cicero as seen through his letters. It has recently been suggested that Cicero employed a concept of empire which depends not on territory, but on the power wielded by individuals, and that this in turn means that the problems which arise in the running of empire can be present as the result of personal failings rather than endemic to the structures of government: questions of morality rather than administration.⁵⁴ Such thinking is not based solely on Cicero's personal philosophy, but on the very definition of Roman *imperium* as that power which is wielded by magistrates within given spheres. As this power was absolute (in a certain sense), any failure of necessity rested on the magistrate himself. Latin authors often pick up this theme, and such a prevalent theme has not, of course, been overlooked by modern scholarship.⁵⁵ Like the preceding discussion of portrayals of Roman values and the consequences of those values on individuals and events, examples of the theme of decline may also be neatly divided into generalized

⁵⁴ C. E. W. Steel, *Cicero, Rhetoric, and Empire* (2001), 4.

⁵⁵ Sall. *Cat.* 10–13 and *Iug.* 41–2; and Livy, *Preface*. A. Lintott, 'Imperial Expansion and Moral Decline in the Roman Republic', *Historia* 21 (1972), 626–38, B. Levick, 'Morals, Politics, and the Fall of the Roman Republic', *G&R* 29 (1982), 53–62.

statements of the trend and its symptoms, and individuals and events which at a particular time and place reveal the trend. Very often in these authors the decline is directly linked to increases in wealth arising from the acquisition of empire.

Of the core authors, Diodorus offers the most complete digression on the subject. The fragment (37.3) from the Constantinian extracts is firmly located in the introduction of Book 37 and thus must have played some role in Diodorus' background to the Social War. This is confirmed by the epitome of Photius (= Diod. 37.2.1), in which the primary cause of the war is identified as the Roman abandonment of their customarily disciplined lifestyle for the pursuit of luxury. The passage begins by equating imperial expansion with Roman adherence to their traditional customs and laws; all this is firmly placed in the past by the very first word of the fragment, τὸ παλαιόν. The record of the decline begins with the ominous phrase ἐν τοῖς νεωτέροις καιροῖς. Although this is accurately translated 'in more recent times', it is necessary to recall the Greek connotations of 'newness', namely its threatening and revolutionary character. The decline is ushered in by a long period of peace and the availability of disposable wealth. The combination left young men with nothing better to do than pursue physical pleasures, and public attitudes changed so that those who lived in the greatest luxury were esteemed above those of high character.

There follows in Diodorus' text an extended catalogue of available luxury goods: foods, wines, furnishings, cloth, slaves, and more. A separate fragment (37.3.6), but included in the same chapter by the editors of the text, records a quote of Cato the Elder denouncing the growing prevalence of extravagant living. The parallels with earlier passages in the *Library* (such as 31.24) have led to speculation that Diodorus means his audience to understand this decline to have begun with the fall of the Macedonian kingdom, and that this passage sees the fulfilment of Scipio Nasica's prophesies concerning the consequences of the destruction of Carthage, Rome's one remaining enemy (34/5.33.3–6). However, we might note the following portion of Diodorus' digression:

Although the appetite for evil could not be corrected, some officials in the provinces attempted to remedy the craze for this kind of life and to make

their own conduct, placed as it was in the limelight by rank and position, a model of noble pursuits for all to imitate. (Diod. 37.3.5)

The first thing to note is the striking statement of inevitability, but the second and more relevant for orientating ourselves in Diodorus' thought-processes is the allusion to model governors in the provinces. This is very reminiscent of his treatment of Scaevola's time in Asia (37.5, 97 BC), and would thereby bring the issue of decline chronologically closer to the Social War, which is in fact the immediate context of this digression.

Trogus' use of the *topos* of decline is made explicit in a pair of passages. The first comes from the end of the war with Antiochus and the second from the establishment of the province of Asia after the inheritance of the Attalid kingdom and the suppression of Aristonicus.

The Romans then divided up the captured states among their allies, because they considered Asia more fitting to be given away as a gift of Rome than kept as a possession for the pursuit of pleasure; the glory of victory was to be claimed for the Roman name, and extravagant riches left to the allies. (Trogus 31.8.9)

So it was that Asia, made now the property of the Romans, transmitted to Rome its vices along with its riches (Trogus 36.4.12).

This second passage ends the discussion of the consular rivalries during the securing of the inheritance. We have already looked at Trogus' comments on Crassus' failure due to greed, but his successors Perpenna (cos. 130 BC) and M'. Aquilius (cos. 129 BC) behaved little better, bickering over who would return to Rome in triumph; their quarrel makes Perpenna's untimely death before his return to Rome seem suspicious.⁵⁶ It is as if the behaviour of the consuls sent to secure Asia itself justifies Trogus' emphasis on corruption derived from wealth.

However, the representation of the Late Republic as a time of decay is not wholly consistent. It is often belied by such statements as that made by Trogus in which he claims that the Parthians bested the Romans in three wars, when the Romans were at the acme of their

⁵⁶ Attempts to sabotage one's successor are known from other incidents as well. Compare Diod. 36.9.2, which records Lucullus' behaviour at the end of his praetorship in Sicily during the Second Slave Revolt.

power (*florentissimis temporibus*, 41.1.7). As the purpose of this passage is to glorify the achievements of the Parthians—the next sentence describes the ‘greater glory’ (*quamquam plus gloriae*) of having carved out an empire amongst the former states of Assyria, Media, Persia, and Bactria—it is not surprising that Trogus decides to emphasize the challenge presented by the Romans, which thereby enhances the victory over them. This technique of enhancing the adversary to magnify the achievement of the conqueror is common throughout the genre. Mithridates is a prime example, especially in the way Trogus develops his character.

A parallel for the decline of the state as a whole is the decline of specific individuals, and their impact on those around them. In Diodorus, Marius seems to combine Roman rigour with a susceptibility to temptations. The early positive characterization of Marius during the Jugurthine War has already been discussed above. The fragments of interest here come from the end of his life (37.29). Some confusion is caused by the inclusion by textual editors of two separate fragments within the same chapter, the first of which offers a positive view of Marius while the latter is distinctly negative in its conclusions. The first derives from the Constantinian excerpts under the heading *de sententiis*, and is a rather short statement without context saying that Marius took exercise each day to correct the effects of old age. The second comes from the excerpts under the heading *de virtutibus et vitiis* and has an extended discussion of the deterioration of Marius’ ambitions and the general suffering which resulted from his greed.

At the beginning of the second fragment, Diodorus takes special care to remind the reader of Marius’ admirable character and accomplishments in his early career. All of his troubles in later life and even the sufferings of the Republic are blamed on his desire for the wealth of Mithridates and the Asiatic cities, as made manifest in his attempt to wrest the command in the east from Sulla.⁵⁷ There follows a discussion of his exile, return, alliance with Cinna, seventh consulship, and death. However, this is not seen as the end of the consequences of his greed. Diodorus’ focus shifts to his son and then to the civil strife under Sulla that gripped ‘all of Italy’. Marius even comes to

⁵⁷ T. J. Luce, ‘Marius and the Mithridatic Command’, *Historia* 19 (1970), 161–94.

be blamed for the murders of Scaevola and Crassus, as well as Sulla's proscriptions. 'All this befell mankind because of the wealth that Marius had so coveted at the beginning' (Diod. 37.29.5).

Here, with the reference to 'humanity' (τοῖς ἀνθρώποις) we notice some of the typical concern for the impact of Rome on the wider world; this concern will be seen repeatedly in the remainder of this chapter and those which follow. The next fragment in the corpus (37.30 from *de sententiis*) confirms the strength of the authorial opinion conveyed, using Marius as an example. It continues on the theme of wealth, speaking of the calamities and evil generated by desire for material gain, before including four verse quotations which are intended to emphasize the extent of human avarice.

It is tempting to draw a parallel between Diodorus' portrayal of Marius and the context for a Posidonian fragment found in Plutarch's *Life of Marius* (45.3–7 = F255 E-K = F37 Jac.). While the passage does not particularly take greed as its theme, it does go into great detail about Marius' mental and behavioural decline after being elected consul for the seventh time. However, the actual part of the description ascribed to Posidonius only comes at the very end, where Plutarch uses his eye-witness authority for Marius' final illness, pleurisy, which Posidonius had occasion to notice on meeting with the ailing consul while in Rome as an ambassador. This last section with its vivid reality contrasts with the artful literary construction of Marius' decline. Moreover, the previous description has chronological errors which would be very unusual in a contemporary account such as Posidonius would have written.⁵⁸ Thus it seems unlikely that Posidonius used Marius as an example of decline.

However, Diodorus is not the only one to make the connection between the corruption of powerful individuals and that of the state as a whole. Nicolaus paints a similar picture when describing Lucullus (F77a and b). Again the offending temptation is wealth, and more specifically the wealth of the East. However, in this case it is not desire that corrupts, but the wealth itself and the excess it encouraged. Lucullus' personal decline begins after his triumph over Mithridates and Tigranes and is described as contrary to the traditional austerity

⁵⁸ Kidd, *Comm.*, 889–93.

of the Romans. By exhausting the treasuries of two kings he is said to have become the foremost example of luxury in Rome.

However, we must remember that one man's vice can be another's virtue; Diodorus has a very positive interpretation of Lucullus' wealth. He recalls how it was a Roman custom to offer a tenth of one's wealth to Hercules, and that this practice led to happiness and prosperity for the donor. Lucullus is called the wealthiest man in Rome of his day and is praised for giving such a large tithe, which allowed for near-continuous public feasting (4.21.4). So the same type of behaviour is transformed from a lapse into Eastern luxury to an example of Roman dedication to *pietas*.

In much of the discussion of the decline of the Roman state, the cause is traced back to wealth and luxury resulting from the acquisition of empire. This connection between success and disintegration is in no way limited to the historiographical tradition surrounding Rome. The theme is found applied to many states and individual rulers. A single example will suffice. In book 35 Trogus traces the rise and fall of Alexander Balas, a pretender to the Seleucid throne. He overcomes the incumbent, but once on the throne he gives himself over to luxury and lays himself open to attack from the young Demetrius II, the son of the previous king.

When the boy heard of the dissipation of Alexander, whom unexpected wealth and the trappings of another man's success kept a virtual prisoner in the palace, lounging amidst his bebies of concubines, he gained support from the Cretans and attacked Alexander, who felt secure and free from fear of enemy attack. (Trogus 35.2.2)

The first chapter of book 36 continues the story of the Seleucid throne, explaining how Demetrius II was also corrupted by success and, giving in to the urges of youth, became idle. This bred contempt among his subjects (36.1.1–10). The themes of sexual extravagance and inaction within the broader context of political decline, which are evident in this passage, are also found in portrayals of Rome, as seen in Nicolaus' criticism of the introduction of a sexual element into private gladiatorial shows among the Romans (F78), and Diodorus' scorn of the rising price at Rome of attractive slaves (37.3.5).

As discussion has progressed through various treatments of Roman culture, particularly the analysis of the common aetiological

objective of myth and ethnographic narrative in history writing, there has been a shift away from the explanatory towards the didactic. Roman morality changed from a cultural oddity to a standard of conduct by which to judge historical events. This adoption of a common ideal of behaviour removes some of the distance between the author, the subject, and the audience. In these passages on decline the author acts as a witness to a phenomenon which influences his life and the lives of those around him. It is this very introduction of the 'personal' that makes historical writing a fruitful source of information on the reactions of the provincial elite to Roman imperialism.

Civil Strife and Roman Italy

The core authors were not without sensitivity to the processes of change and development which they chose to interpret as decline. The key events which arose out of the processes of upheaval took place in Rome itself and its immediate geographical area. So while the events could be witnessed by those of provincial origin, many of those affected by the outcomes had little or no impact on the actual developments in Roman politics. Again, the distance between the author and the subject in these accounts is markedly different from that found in ethnographic discussions. Here, the events may have profound consequences for the author and his audience, but they may only act as observers. The quality of the discussion of Roman domestic politics may therefore be contrasted with both ethnographic descriptions and the treatment of Roman foreign affairs, in which non-Romans enter the historical narrative as actors in their own right.

The following analysis treats two historical events and two historiographical themes. The events are very familiar from other ancient sources, having had a profound impact on historical memory: the reforms of the Gracchi and the war against the Italian allies. For both, the extensive survival of Diodorus' narrative again places him at the centre of the discussion. The historiographical themes—rival states modelled on Rome itself and the impact of internal conflict on the provinces—may be less familiar, but have a prevalence which hints at a greater significance than previously realized.

The Gracchi

While Diodorus is often thought of as an author hostile to the Gracchi, the first of the surviving fragments, apparently from the introduction to his account of Ti. Gracchus, is anything but hostile (34/5.5).⁵⁹ It focuses on the noble ancestry of his family, specifically his father and maternal grandfather, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos. 177 and 163 BC)⁶⁰ and Publius Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. Yet instead of being presented as inferior to his origins, he is held up for his independent achievements in wisdom and oratory. Even the next fragment does not seem to contain a vilification of the Gracchi; instead, using the metaphor of the sea, it focuses on the nature of the populace, which was stirred to action by its leaders (34/5.6).⁶¹ The portrait of Ti. Gracchus as the leader of the people is one of strength and conviction; it is not that of an insincere opportunist: 'Their champion was a man subject neither to favour nor to fear—a man, moreover, who for the sake of restoring the land to the people was determined to endure any toil or danger, to his last breath...' (Diod. 34/5.6.1). The moment of change in Diodorus' representation of Ti. Gracchus is wholly lost, but on his murder he has only negative sentiments. 'Since he was heading straight for destruction he speedily met with the punishment he merited' (Diod. 34/5.7.3). The whole conflict is surprisingly simplified into a conflict between the mob and 'the most politically alert and the well-to-do' (τὸ πρακτικώτατον τοῦ

⁵⁹ On Diodorus' treatment, see P. Botteri, *Les Fragments de l'histoire des Gracques dans la Bibliothèque de Diodore de Sicile* (1992), which offers a discussion of the survival of the text and the complete fragments with translation and commentary.

⁶⁰ This positive reference to Ti. Gracchus the elder makes an interesting comparison with the one mention of the man in Posidonius (F271 E–K = F51 Jac.), where he accuses Polybius of flattering Ti. Gracchus with his account of his accomplishments in Spain. Many scholars have accepted the theory that Diodorus' account of the Gracchi derives from Posidonius; Theiler includes these passages of Diodorus in his collection of Posidonian fragments (F140f.) and Malitz also uses them in his reconstruction of Posidonius' historical discussion of Rome (pp. 368–9.). This is challenged by P. Botteri and M. Raskolnikoff, 'Posidonius, "nom de notre ignorance": a propos de la source de Diodore de Sicile dans les fragments consacrés aux Gracques', *Quaderni di Storia* 5.9 (1979), 135–55, who argue that Diodorus is drawing on a Roman source (or sources) writing in Latin, as evident from both vocabulary and perspective.

⁶¹ Familiar examples of this metaphor include Polyb. 11.29.8–13, and Plut. *Mor. An seni* 788C.

δήμου καὶ τοῖς βίοις κάρπιμον), who clashed violently in the public assembly (34/5.6.2). Yet, even his murderer is said to have acted not from reason, but out of rage (34/5.7.2).

The presentation of the younger Gracchus, Gaius (trib. 123 BC), in Diodorus is far more negative.⁶² Moreover, the nature of the hostility is particularly class biased.⁶³ In the first fragment a derisive tone can be detected in the description of the extent and nature of Gaius' popularity (34/5.24). Gaius is made the object of the populace's attention even before his candidature. The mob throngs and shouts at his coming. Their adoration is held up as extreme, unrestrained. While Gaius is subsumed in this passage by the mob, this very dismissive treatment suggests the author's disdain for the man and a view of him as a catalyst for civil unrest. This is notably different from the presentation of his elder brother, who is portrayed as a voice or focal point for popular concerns. Instead of stirring the mob itself to action, the elder Gracchus acted on behalf of the masses.⁶⁴

The picture of the younger Gracchus as an immoral agitator continues to be developed in the other surviving fragments. Gaius' proposals are presented in the most sweeping terms with no restraint on authorial judgement (34/5.25.1). In Diodorus' use of *δημηγορεῖν* ('to play the demagogue'), there is no question that he intends to imply all the negative connotations of pandering to a wide audience, just as there is no doubt over the implications of *ὑβρις* ('pride, arrogance'; 34/5.25.2). The subject of this harangue is the abolition of aristocracy and the implementation of democracy. Diodorus' understanding of 'aristocracy' as 'the rule of the best' is made explicit as he describes how the transition of courts from senators to equites

⁶² P. Botteri and M. Raskolnikoff, 'Diodore, Caius Gracchus et la démocratie', in C. Nicolet (ed.), *Demokratia et aristokratia* (1983), 59–101.

⁶³ Although his discussion is largely based on other sources, particularly Cicero, G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (1981), 351–4 and 622–3 nn.7–8, offers important background. For a more narrowly defined study, see R. J. Rowland, 'C. Gracchus and the Equites', *TAPA* 96 (1965), 361–73.

⁶⁴ This moral division between acting for the people and having the people act on one's behalf is seen elsewhere in Diodorus' narrative, particularly in the context of the Social War: 'Lampronius rushed headlong at Crassus, for he believed that it was appropriate, not that the masses should fight on behalf of their leaders, but rather that the leaders should fight for the masses' (Diod. 37.23).

put the inferior above their betters.⁶⁵ Gains' supporters are given no legitimate motivations for collusion, and their desires are presented as private gain, as if each one was individually bribed. The metaphor of mass 'bribery' is repeated in the specific incident of the banishment of P. Popilius Laenas (cos. 132 BC), where Diodorus describes this corruption of the people as robbing them of the power to denounce wrong (34/5.26.1).⁶⁶

The theme of upsetting the traditional balance continues to develop: unnecessary expenditure from the public treasury, relaxing the discipline of the soldiers, and favouring the tax farmers over sound relations with the provinces. The last is particularly telling of Diodorus' perspective. It presents provincial administration as a fundamental part of civic concord. To Gaius' changes are attributed disobedience and anarchy within the state; 'for a man who despises those in authority over him rebels also against the laws, and from these practices come fatal lawlessness and the overthrow of the state' (Diod. 34/5.26.1). All this suggests not only Diodorus' adherence to a rigid view of social hierarchy, but also to a holistic view of the Roman state. Each element can cause disruption, from the urban plebs to the legions, and even the provincials. Mistreatment of any of the elements in society has serious repercussions for the state as a whole, and when considering the proper balance no one group, not even the client states, may be overlooked.

Finally, in Diodorus' description of Gaius' final acts and death (34/5.28a), the whole of Gaius' behaviour is couched in terms of madness, brought on by lack of success (Diod. 34/5.28a). This led to his

⁶⁵ A later fragment (37.9), while suffering from a corrupted text, has an interesting discussion of Gaius' transfer of the courts from the senators to the equites. It purports to quote Gaius' response to criticism over this transfer, by saying that it ensured that, even if he died, his policy would continue to disarm the Senate. The authorial response to this statement associates it with Gaius' own death, seeing that death as fitting punishment for his tampering with the courts, as he himself was deprived of a trial. K. S. Sacks, 'Review of P. Botteri, *Les Fragments de l'histoire des Gracques dans la Bibliothèque de Diodore de Sicile* (1992)', *Gnomon* 67.2 (1995), 170–2, esp. 171, notes that attributing the transfer of the courts to the Gracchi contradicts Diodorus' earlier claim in the course of recounting the Sicilian Slave Revolts (34/5.2.3 and 34/5.2.31) that the courts were already in the control of the equites; he sees this as an important discrepancy when considering issues of *Quellenforschung*.

⁶⁶ K. S. Sacks, 'Review of P. Botteri', has an extended discussion to the vocabulary of this passage.

plotting violence against the consuls and the Senate. Upon arriving on the Capitol, he is 'prey to agony of spirit and fiendish torments', and more generally 'in a frenzied state'. His first murder is that of a friend, and Diodorus sees this crime as representing Gaius' ultimate descent into tyrannical behaviour. It is particularly in these final episodes and the following tale of the defilement of his body (34/5.29) that we can see Diodorus' own perspective in the narrative.

For comparison we have the later literary accounts by Plutarch and Appian (*B Civ.* 1.3.25).⁶⁷ It is not my intention to judge the veracity of the versions; instead, I wish only to illustrate the freedom available to Diodorus in constructing his own presentation of Gaius' final moments. Appian, too, tries to paint an image of Gaius' mental state. He is described as 'in turmoil over his knowledge of unusual plans', the presence of armed men among the assembly. While he was in such a state, a plebeian sacrificing in the portico lays a hand upon him and asks him to spare his country. Gracchus, 'even more troubled and fearful as if detected, looked sharply at the man.' This alone was enough to push his eager followers to unprovoked murder, after which Gaius attempted to exculpate himself before the assembly, but no one would listen.⁶⁸ In Plutarch, the behaviour and identity of the victim is again altered; no longer a simple plebeian or friend of Gaius, he becomes a servant of the consul, who as he bears away the sacrificial entrails offers insult and provocation to Gaius and his followers. Gaius here takes no action to inspire the attack, but is distressed by the actions of his followers and rebukes them for providing fuel to their enemies (*Vit. C. Gracch.* 13.3ff.). So in no way does Diodorus differ in the recording of the events from the other major sources, but none can agree on the interpretation. Each presents a psychological profile suggesting degrees of guilt, and slightly alters the emphasis of the presentation of the victim to indicate the severity of the crime.

Likewise, all three record the reward given by the consul for the presentation of Gaius' head: its weight in gold. Appian makes nothing of this. Plutarch and Diodorus both tell how the head was filled

⁶⁷ P. Botteri, and M. Raskolnikoff, 'Lessico politico: frammenti graccani in Diodoro, Appiano e Plutarco', in I. Lana and N. Marinone (eds.), *Atti del convegno sulla lessicografia politica e giuridica nel campo delle scienze dell'antichità* (1980), 111–18.

⁶⁸ App. *B. Civ.* 1.3.25; the translations are my own.

with lead so as to increase its value. However, in Plutarch a friend of the consul, Septimuleius, steals the head from some unnamed person and perpetrates the fraud. By comparison, in Diodorus it is a friend of Gaius himself, Lucius Vitellius, who upon coming across the body is motivated by greed instead of grief. It does not seem outrageous to propose that these authors intend their readers to judge Opimius and Gaius by the company they kept.

Why did Diodorus decide to paint such a malicious portrait of the younger Gracchus? Sadly, as so often in scholarship regarding Diodorus, the most common answer is that he adopted the perspective of his source, and moreover that presumed source, Posidonius, had a bias against the equestrian order whom Gaius further empowered.⁶⁹ However, the above comparison of the various presentations of the Gaius narrative has illustrated how it is possible for historians to alter the interpretation of events, while leaving the shape of events relatively unchanged. Thus regardless of what Diodorus read in his source, his presentation of events can only be his own. Within the surviving fragments, the crimes upon which Diodorus focuses all centre on the disruption of the social order and the stability of the state.

This need not seem an unlikely moral for a non-Roman writer to draw. Diodorus clearly considers civil unrest in Roman politics to have direct repercussions for those under her hegemony. The examples need not be limited to Gaius' crime of indulging the greed of the tax-farmers in the provinces, but can also include such examples as the ineffectual character of Sicilian governors at the time of the slave revolts and Sulla's plundering of eastern temples to underwrite his violent return to Rome (38/9.7.1). Such a connection between domestic and foreign harmony is further illustrated in Diodorus' predictions as put into Nasica's mouth: the destruction of Carthage would lead to civil wars and rapacity and lawlessness of magistrates

⁶⁹ Even K. S. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* (1990), 211, usually the most ardent defender of Diodorus' originality, discusses the passage on Gaius' actions as if it is solid evidence for Posidonius' attitudes towards the equestrians. However, Sacks presents a convincing argument that the passages usually cited to support Posidonius' supposed bias indicate only his disapproval of certain behaviour of the *publicani* and the upsetting of the social class structure (pp. 211–12). As so often, this discussion of Posidonius is based solely on the evidence in Diodorus, and thus can best be seen as a reflection of Diodorus' own views, not those of Posidonius.

in the provinces, all because the unifying fear of a great enemy had been removed (34/5.33.4–6).

The Social War

Diodorus treats the war between Rome and her Italian allies as a blending of both an internal crisis and a foreign conflict. This is seen throughout the introduction to book 37, in which he argues that the war is the greatest in history. He catalogues many conflicts of particular fame in both the east and west Mediterranean: the Trojan War, the Persian Wars, Alexander's campaigns, Carthage in Sicily, and more. For each he points out how the Romans, with the assistance of their Italian allies, defeated the descendants of all the most famous victors. He thus concludes that when these ultimate victors quarrel amongst themselves the war must be of the greatest significance. Although all the parallel conflicts are between separate and distinct peoples and cultures, throughout Roman conquests, Italy is presented as a unified force.

The common ties between of the participants in the Social War are most poignantly illustrated by Diodorus with the meeting of Marius and 'Pompaedius' and their armies (37.15). The artful literary construction is best appreciated when it is juxtaposed with Plutarch's own record of a hostile exchange between these same men (*Vit. Mar.* 33). Not only did Diodorus choose a different tone for the exchange but also an alternative context, locating it in Samnite territory instead of Marsic.⁷⁰ Although the fragment is relatively long, Diodorus includes little content beyond the repetitious account of each side's recognizing its ties to the other. First, the common soldiers develop peaceful inclinations (*εἰς εἰρηνικὴν μετέπεσε διάθεσιν*) as they recognize comrades in arms (*συστρατιῶται*), personal friends (*ἰδιοχένοι*), relatives (*οἰκεῖοι*), kinsmen (*συγγενεῖς*), and those who had been connected in friendship through the law of common marriage (*οὗς ὁ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας νόμος ἐπεποιήκει κοινωνῆσαι τῆς τοιαύτης φιλίας*). They acknowledged a common bond, greeted one

⁷⁰ Walton's notes in his Loeb edition (1967) suggest that this error was the fault of the copyists. I am doubtful as the copyists of Constantine Porphyrogenitus rarely interpolate facts, accurately or otherwise, but instead cause confusion by their abrupt truncations and inadequate introductions.

another, called each other by name, exhorted each other not to murder those with close ties, laid aside their weapons, and held out their hands in friendly greetings. This behaviour amongst the soldiery inspired their commanders to approach one another as kinsmen (*συγγενικῶς*) and discuss peace and citizenship. All of which is said to have created a festive atmosphere, as the common soldiers had also been urging resolution. The repetitive language of familial relations floods through the fragment, cementing Diodorus' presentation of the war as one within the borders of a common state.

Another passage of interest for Diodorus' perceptions of the Social War comes from Photius' synopsis of his introduction. By comparison with Constantinian excerpts, it is clear that Photius is not copying Diodorus, but truncating his narrative and highlighting key points.⁷¹ Thus the following passage cannot be given the full weight of a verbatim text of Diodorus, but should instead be accepted as a reliable paraphrase of a possibly better-developed argument in the original:

The primary cause of the war, he says, was this, that the Romans abandoned the disciplined, frugal, and stern manner of life that had brought them to such greatness, and fell into the pernicious pursuit of luxury and licence. The plebs and the Senate being at odds as a result of this deterioration, the latter called on the Italians to support them, promising to admit them to the much-coveted Roman citizenship, and to confirm the grant by law, but when none of the promises made to the Italians were realized, war flared up between them and the Romans. (Diod. 37.1.1–2)

Obviously, the first part of this statement fits nicely with the previous discussion of the theme of decline, but here it is part of a wider chain of events—namely the conflict between the people and the Senate. It is this internal conflict which Diodorus cites as the origin of the Social War. The Italians are brought in as partisans of the Senate, and it is only when the promises made to them are broken that they become aggressors in the conflict. It would seem, then, that Diodorus put the blame for the war on the Romans, and specifically on those Romans who blocked the concessions to the Italian allies. Does this mean that Diodorus had adopted an anti-senatorial perspective for this war, in marked contrast with his sentiments on the Gracchi?

⁷¹ For example, the first two sentences of 37.2.1 = Phot. *Bibl.* 391 compress the whole of 37.1 = *Const. Exc.* 4, 393–4, which is 2.5 pages of Greek in the Loeb edition.

Again, nothing is ever so clear-cut. Diodorus still seems to back the senatorial cause, but in doing so supports that element of the Senate which contemplated reform. This is made clear in the snippets from the Constantinian excerpts on the Drusi. Marcus Livius Drusus (tribune 91 BC) is heroicized with a whole string of virtues: a remarkable father, skill at oratory, trustworthiness, wealth, and generosity. All this is said to make him the obvious choice as champion of the Senate (37.10.1, cf. Cic. *Mil.* 16). After this and further eulogies on his family (37.10.2), the next fragment in the sequence describes Drusus' reaction when the Senate invalidated his legislation. He argued that he had the authority to override the decisions of the Senate, but would refrain from doing so. However, if his legislation was invalid, so also must be that which related to the courts (37.10.3), that is the legislation which placed control of the judicial process in the hands of the equites. The positive treatment of Drusus suggests that Diodorus agreed with his policies. This is not implausible given Diodorus' earlier denunciation of the Gracchan judicial reforms (34/5.2.3). Nor should it be shocking that a Sicilian of the next generation who often lived in Rome would have sympathy for the enfranchisement of the Italians—peoples whom he clearly and repeatedly equates with the Romans themselves.

The remaining sections of Diodorus' account of the Social War, as they survive, have a vignette-like quality, being what one might call 'episodic' historical narratives. The short, vivid sketches have self-contained narratives, which mostly fit into the overall chronology of the war, but serve to illustrate themes and attitudes better than any broader treatment of strategy or diplomacy. In them Diodorus holds to an ideal of moderation on both sides of the conflict—condemning rash violence and praising rhetoric when it inspires tranquillity. He emphasizes that either both win or both lose, again highlighting the unity of interests between the Romans and Italians.

Diodorus focuses on a dramatic episode in the prelude to the Social War, recording a scene of violence against comedians in the theatrical portion of a Picentine festival (37.12).⁷² When the Romans

⁷² Some would like to equate this incident with the one recorded by Appian, *BC* 1.38, which took place at a festival at Asculum and culminated with the assassination of the praetor Servilius and his legate Fonteius, as well as a general massacre of the Romans in the city. For the role of the theatre in Roman politics, see Cic. *Att.*: 39.3 SB = 2.19.3, between 7 and 14 July 59; and 90.6 SB = 4.15, 27 July 54.

in the audience took offence at the speech of one comedian, they lynched him on the spot. In seeking revenge, the local people directed their hostility towards the next performer, a Latin named Saunio, who was particularly popular with the Romans. Saunio ensured his safety through some clever arguments. First he aligned his identity with the local population: 'I am not a Roman, but subject to the fasces as you yourselves are.' It is not enough for him to distance himself from the Romans; he focuses on the most brutal consequences of this alienation. The choice to remind the audience of the potential violence which can result from disobedience to Rome is a verbal echo of the harsh act just committed by the Romans in the audience. Yet after these statements, Saunio changes his argument to one based on mutual advantage. Through analogy, he illustrates the point that for those present to injure Rome would only be to injure themselves.

As always with indirect speech in historical narrative, it is dangerous to make assumptions as to the relationship of the attitudes expressed to those held by the author himself. The characterization of Saunio gives no particular insight; he is neither vilified nor glorified, only painted as an amusing and witty entertainer. However, the themes of Saunio's statements find parallels throughout Diodorus' narrative. In the previous discussions of the Gracchi, and in that to come on provincial administration, it is apparent that Diodorus holds to a conception of the interconnected nature of Roman domestic politics and the state of the provinces. It should not therefore be surprising to find Diodorus presenting the interests of the Italians and the Romans as intertwined, even in the mouth of a clown.

Another brief scene from the beginnings of the Social War likewise embodies the morals espoused elsewhere in Diodorus' history. This fragment records how 'Pompaedius' set out for Rome with an armed band in order to demand citizenship, but was turned back by the wise words of Domitius (37.13). Domitius is eulogized and contrasted with Servilius. Domitius' strategy for allaying the rebellious sentiments was to offer advice as to how best they might achieve their objectives, emphasizing the magnanimity of Senate when petitioned peacefully. Diodorus praises Domitius' foresight in rescuing his country from grave danger through well-chosen words. By contrast,

Servilius is vilified for having alienated the Picentines by trying to dissuade them from rebellion through threats of harsh Roman punishments. Both types of behaviour reflect patterns identified by Diodorus elsewhere in his *Library*. Multiple statements characterize the Romans as 'the best of friends and worst of enemies', excessive in benefactions and extreme in retaliation. Similarly, Diodorus outlines how the Romans had gained their empire through both force and generosity, but the latter is the best means of maintaining hegemony.

The application of these conceptualizations of Roman hegemony to the Social War in part belies Diodorus' overt statements of the unity of Rome and Italy or Rome and the other provinces. Or perhaps more accurately, they redefine the nature of the unity, emphasizing the lack of equality within the interdependency. By bringing Italy into her hegemony, Rome expanded her power base, but also became vulnerable. Rome came to rely on the resources of Italy (and the other territory under her control), and built upon those resources to extend her influence further. However, if those foundation resources were removed, the whole system of control could potentially crumble. This gave the conquered peoples, in Italy or beyond, a certain power to name the price at which they would offer cooperation. The more central the resources of the territory to Rome's infrastructure, the greater the price which could be extracted by the subjugated. Diodorus is keenly aware of this balance of power between Rome and the provinces, especially in its most violent manifestation in the Social War. One surviving fragment encapsulates the unity and simultaneous inequality of Romano-Italian relations:

The Italians, who so many times before had fought with distinctions on behalf of Rome's empire, were now risking life and limb to secure their own, and their feats of bravery went far beyond those of their former victories. The Romans, on the other hand, being engaged in a struggle with their former subjects (*πρὸς τοὺς πρότερον ὑποτεταγμένους αὐτοῖς ἀγωνιζόμενοι*), considered it a disgrace to appear inferior to their inferiors (*τῶν ἡττόνων ἡττους*; Diod 37.22).

Before moving forward, a brief mention should be made of the other references to the Social War in the core authors. There are only three, and all are particularly meagre. One comes from Memnon, in which

the local chronicler proudly records the assistance (two triremes) sent by Heraclea Pontica to its Roman allies.⁷³ The ships were said to have been away for over ten years and to have been paid many honours for their assistance. The historical probability of this incident is high, given the testimony about foreigners engaged or solicited by both sides.⁷⁴ However, the historical memory of the event has been radically altered in the Heracleian tradition; the geographical gloss supplied by Memnon would have located the war in Spain,⁷⁵ and there is no recognition of this Roman war as being in any way a domestic revolt. Memnon's sole purpose in mentioning the event seems to be to praise the Heracleian fulfilment of obligations to Rome as a 'friend and ally'.

The other two allusions to the Social War in the extant writings of the core authors both come from speeches made in favour of the Mithridatic cause. They both use the Social War as a justification for the timing of an attack against the Romans. Posidonius highlights the desire of the Italians for assistance in throwing off the Romans (F253 E-K = F36 Jac. = Athen. 5.213C). Trogus points to the Roman inability ever to conquer Italy completely. He mentions the citizenship question, but treats the Social War as a whole as secondary to the internal quarrels which divided the Roman ruling class (38.4.11–14). Both authors emphasize the interdependence of Italo-Roman security—Rome is made vulnerable by alienating her closest allies.

⁷³ 'The Heracleans helped the Romans against the Marsians, Peligni, and Marrucini (these nations are those situated beyond Libya, the neighbours of the Gadeirians) by sending two decked triremes. Having aided the success of the war and being thought worthy of many monuments, they returned to their fatherland in the eleventh year.' *Ῥωμαίοις δὲ πρὸς Μάρσους καὶ Πιλιγνούς καὶ Μαρρουκίους (ἔθνη δὲ εἰσι ταῦτα ὑπὲρ Λιβύης κατοικημένα, Γαδείρων ὄμορα) δυσὶ τε τριήρεσι καταφράκτοις Ἡρακλεῶται συνεμάχησαν, καὶ συγκατορθώσαντες τὸν πόλεμον καὶ πολλῶν ἀριστείων ἀξιοθέντες ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἀνεκομίσθησαν* (Mem. 21).

⁷⁴ *CIL* 1² 588 = *RDGE* 22 = Sherck, *Augustus* no. 66 records honours given by the Senate to three Greek ship captains for their services to Rome during the war; from Diodorus we have mention of a Cilician (37.16), a Cretan (37.18), and the allied Italians' petition to Mithridates (37.2.11). The last of these is confirmed by Posidonius F253 E-K = F36 Jac. = Athen. 5.213C. Nevertheless, some scholars remain doubtful: see H. B. Mattingly, 'Rome's Earliest Relations with Byzantium, Heraclea Pontica, and Callatis', in A. G. Poulter (ed.), *Ancient Bulgaria* (1981), 239–52, esp. 242–3.

⁷⁵ Jacoby optimistically tries to blame this inaccurate gloss on Photius or some other copyist (Jac., II c. 173, n. 31), but this seems unlikely.

Likewise, Italy could suffer foreign occupation if the Italians separated from Rome in favour of an Eastern king. Independence is not an option. This confirms the contemporary conception evident in Diodorus that Rome was particularly vulnerable when unrest arose in its subject territories, and that the closer to home those territories, the more direct the threat. At the beginning of our period Italy still might be considered a 'non-Roman' region, but through the Social War, the extension of the enfranchisement, and increased interdependence, there came to be little conceptual difference between the Romans and the Italians.

Anti-Romes

When peoples who had lived under Roman rule for an extended period of time, or were even Romans themselves, rebelled against the traditional authority of the Senate and magistrates, often they adopted symbols of power to communicate their independent authority. The choice of these symbols, and the regularity with which historians recall them, suggest that they are intended to illustrate not just power itself, but the nature of the authority and its implementation. It seems that there were competing iconographic representations of power from which rebels (or the historians) might construct their identity. Some looked to the East, especially the regal elements of Alexander's successors; others followed a Roman model; and still others blended the two together. Again, we rely on Diodorus as the only one of the core authors to treat this theme.⁷⁶ However, its regular and dramatic recurrence in the one text alone gives reason enough for analysis. The instances group around slave revolts and the Social War. This may have a very practical origin in the fact that most powers which opposed Rome already had an established form of government with its own symbols of authority. Only when the opposing power is newly formed are identity and iconography such pressing issues.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ However, it might be interesting to consider if there is any relation between these 'alternative Romes' and the rumours reported by Nicolaus concerning Caesar's plans to move the capital to Alexandria or Ilium (*Life of Caesar Augustus*, F130.20).

⁷⁷ One might compare Sertorius' attempt to create a government on the Roman model for the territory he controlled in Spain (Plut. *Vit. Sert.* 22.3–4).

During the First Sicilian Slave Revolt, Eunus, mystic and leader of the slave revolt in Enna, claimed his command by divine authority.⁷⁸ Upon coming to power he assumed the diadem and royal dress and appointed a court of advisers, even calling his wife the queen (Diod. 34/5.2.15). He called himself King Antiochus and his men 'Syrians' (Diod. 34/5.2.24, cf. 34/5.2.42 and 34/5.8). The regal title is confirmed by the coinage, but interestingly the model for the money is not of Eastern origin, but only a modified version of Enna's civic coinage.⁷⁹

The period just before the Second Sicilian Slave Revolt saw a number of uprisings in Italy. One of these is recorded with some detail in Photius' epitome of Diodorus. It seems to have captured attention primarily because the leader was a young Roman knight whose discontent arose from his debt, which was the result of the purchase of a slave girl for an astronomical price. This man, Titus Minucius, when he could not pay his creditors, raised an army and assumed the diadem, a purple cloak, and lictors. The situation was serious enough for Lucullus as praetor to be dispatched with troops, but the revolt was quickly put down. It is a strange story and hard to believe in the terms it is presented: bizarre behaviour by young men because of slave girl lovers is more a topos for comedy than history. Nevertheless, it involves the rural economy, debt, and disaffected men, slaves or otherwise, who were willing to join in open violence. All of this is in keeping with the domestic issues of Rome in the Late Republic. However, beyond the Sicilian Slave Revolts there is no attempt by the historian to tie this story to other events affecting Roman Italy. Instead it is very much a humorous digression from the primary historical narrative. Here as elsewhere there is a blending of Eastern and Roman symbols of power. No Roman ever wore a

⁷⁸ K. R. Bradley, 'Slave Kingdoms in Ancient Sicily', *Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques* 10 (1983), 435–51, and more generally, K. R. Bradley, *Slavery and Rebellion in the Roman World, 140 BC to 70 BC* (1989), 46–82. As an aside, the common characteristic of both Eunus in the First Sicilian Slave Revolt and Athenion in the Second, of being diviners of one sort or another, might be productively considered in the light of recent scholarship, such as W. Scheidel, 'Slavery and the Shackled Mind: On Fortune-telling and Slave Mentality in the Graeco-Roman World', *The Ancient History Bulletin* 7 (1993), 107–14.

⁷⁹ E. S. G. Robinson, 'Antiochus, King of the Slaves', *Num. Chron.* 20 (1920), 175–6.

diadem; an honorary wreath of leaves or gold was worn, but never the type of crown assumed by the successors of Alexander. Purple robes are found throughout Mediterranean culture (including Roman) as a symbol of nobility, but without any indication of pattern, this cannot be linked to specific Roman customs. The lictors, however, are thoroughly Roman. Moreover, the lictors are those individuals who carried a magistrate's axes and fasces. These objects symbolized power, but more specifically the power to impose bodily punishment, and even death. Lictors were the theoretical enforcers of Roman hegemony. To adopt this symbol was to assert one's willingness to use force to impose one's judgement.

In the Second Sicilian Slave Revolt, Athenion, the former bailiff and astrologer turned revolt leader, assumed the title of king, and is said to have put on the diadem and considered all of the land in Sicily his own (36.5.2–3). Yet when Salvius was successfully overrunning the country as far as the plain of Leontini, he too proclaimed himself king and took the name 'Tryphon'. Again, this mimics Eunus, who had also adopted a name associated with the Seleucid throne. Athenion submitted to Tryphon's authority and the narrative begins to describe the 'reign' of the new king (36.7). He made Triocala his capital, reinforcing its defences, but also engaging in civic architectural developments, such as a royal palace and market. He appointed a board of counsellors. Yet most peculiarly, like Minucius in Italy, he decided to use Roman symbols of power instead of building on Eastern-style authority as his Seleucid name might have suggested. When holding audience he was dressed in a purple-bordered toga and a wide-bordered tunic, just as certain Roman magistrates might do. Diodorus is explicit that his lictors carried axes, the indication of authority over life and death. Diodorus calls this embellishment befitting royalty, but it is a Roman memory of kingship which it recalls, not that of the contemporary Eastern dynasts.

So why does Diodorus choose regularly to discuss the types of authority set up by rebelling slaves? In some cases it may just be that he was struck by their absurdity. In others it may indicate the type of authority which the rebels understood and admired. There is never any hint at long-term viability, but the establishment of alternative states clearly labels the slaves as enemies, not just individuals longing for freedom by incorporation into the existing system. For us, the

modern audience, the iconography represents a further challenge in understanding the boundaries between Romans and non-Romans. Like the growing comfort among the historical writers with Roman legendary vocabulary or standards of morality, the adoption of Roman symbols of power by those rebelling from Roman authority raises serious questions regarding the identity of the subjected, or at least the historian's understanding of that identity.

It is not only slaves whose identity is at issue; during the Social War the allied Italians also established a city and government for the administration of their cause. The historical reality of this foundation has been the topic of extensive historical research.⁸⁰ However, the question here is not reality, but presentation. Clearly, Diodorus presents the foundation as a unification of the various peoples of Italy around their common cause against Rome.

Diodorus consistently uses the term *koinē* in describing the new institutions.⁸¹ The term is reminiscent of the label used for Hellenistic federal leagues. Still, Diodorus may have meant little more than to emphasize the collaborative nature of the venture. Moreover, the only unifying principle which Diodorus provides is the war with Rome. Although he mentions the building of a marketplace and meeting house, he focuses on the stockpiling of supplies for war, especially money and food. The function of the new Senate and magistrates is likewise limited to war and defence. Rather surprisingly, after supplying the full details of the system of organization employed by the allies, Diodorus observes that they 'for the most part copied the time-honoured Roman pattern'. In fact there is little besides vocabulary that suggests any direct similarity. The ruling council (senate = *σύγκλητος*) had 500 members chosen on merit from the member states; this council was given the power to conduct affairs of state. It was also the council that selected the annual generals (two consuls = *ὑπατοι*, and twelve praetors = *στρατηγοί*); Italy was divided into two regions, each being assigned to a senior

⁸⁰ M. Pobjoy, 'The First *Italia*', in K. Lomas and E. Herring (eds.), *The Emergence of State Identities in Italy in the First Millennium BC* (2000), 187–211; H. Mouritsen, *Italian Unification* (1998), 129–51; and H. Meyer, 'Die Organisation der Italiker im Bundesgenossenkrieg', *Historia* 7 (1958), 74–9.

⁸¹ Of the city, 37.2.4, 37.2.7, 37.2.9; of the senate, 37.2.5; of their 'safety' or 'defence' (*σωτηρία*), 37.2.5; of decisions, 37.2.9.

general with six sub-generals under his command. The differences between this and the Roman constitution are fairly self-evident. In Rome, *imperium* derived from the people, not the Senate. The Senate was in no way a form of representative government and the pre-Sullan institution consisted of approximately 300 members. Magistrates were elected in popular assemblies, not chosen by the deliberative body. While it is true that the Romans had two consuls annually, there were only six praetors in the pre-Sullan constitution, and eight in the post-Sullan. Moreover, praetors usually served independently from the consuls, not directly under their command. Diodorus' own statements clearly contradict his conclusion that the Italian system was modelled on Rome.

This leads to the question, what narrative function does it serve to emphasize the similarity between the Roman constitution and that of the Italian opposition? We have already observed that throughout Diodorus' presentation he is keen to emphasize the unity of Rome and her Italian allies. The introductory paragraphs outline their joint successes and argue that the significance of the conflict derives from the past accomplishments of the participants. Likewise Diodorus finds the origins of the war in the civil conflict between people and Senate, into which the Italians are brought as possible allies for one side or the other. To see the Social War as an outgrowth of civil conflict is again to emphasize the unity of Roman Italy. This type of thematic development fits well with Diodorus' overall presentation of Roman hegemony, in which domestic and foreign politics are inextricably linked, as seen in the Slave Revolts and the Gracchan episodes.

The Impact Abroad

Having begun our investigation with the fragmentary remains of the core authors' reflections on the Roman state in its domestic manifestation, we can make the transition into the discussion of the coming chapters by looking at how these domestic issues had an impact upon the territories adjoining Rome. To some extent this question has already surfaced: in the Gracchan controversy, one of the issues highlighted by Diodorus was the opening of the provinces to the rapacity of the tax-farmers (34/5.25.1), and in discussions of decline he showed us how Marius' desire for the campaign against

Mithridates led to the Civil War, continuing well after his death (37.29). As so often, the author's objective sculpts the narrative which we receive.

In this first fragment, again from Diodorus, we see how generalities are used in order to expand the scope and impact of the Civil War. The context is generally considered to be the conflict between Sulla and the younger Marius:

City by city and nation by nation harsh tests were applied, and attempts of many sorts to find out where men stood in regard to them. Of necessity the people were constrained to shift the pretended loyalty that they assumed from one side to the other, and to incline toward whichever party was at hand. For representatives of the opposing belligerents assigned to the task of enlisting recruits kept appearing in person, and since they were striving to outdo one another, their highly exacting investigations brought the preference of the cities into the open. (Diod. 38/9.13)

Like tax collecting, the levying of troops is another aspect of Roman provincial administration which is recorded with distaste in most non-Roman histories. The burden on the dependent communities created by civil unrest is clearly communicated in this passage. One might want to read between the lines and see the passage as suggesting that Roman rule is only onerous when the Romans themselves are at odds. So again, this passage may fit with the overarching historical moral of *concordia* as the answer to difficulties arising from increased hegemony.

Of course, this is not the only way to use the theme of the widespread impact of civil war. Trogus does not do so by reference to the provinces, but instead employs a traditional Roman adversary, the Parthians. By introducing a foreign enemy into the fray, he is able to vilify further the losing side in the civil wars:

Not long after these events, the civil war between Caesar and Pompey broke out among the Romans. In this the Parthians took the Pompeian side, because they had been allies of Pompey during the war with Mithridates, and also because of the death of Crassus; for they had heard that a son of Crassus was a supporter of Caesar, and they were in no doubt that he would avenge his father if Caesar prevailed. Thus when the Pompeian cause was defeated, the Parthians sent help to Cassius and Brutus against Augustus and Antonius. (Trogus 42.4.6–7)

This passage is then echoed further on in the narrative when Trogus claims that Antony used the rumour of Parthian assistance to those who opposed Caesar as a justification for his attack on them with sixteen legions (42.5.3; c.36 BC). The tradition of the Parthians' being allied with Pompey is a narrative known to other later authors, but most often dismissed or left undeveloped.⁸² There is also support in Cassius Dio for the claim that some Parthians helped Cassius, at least during his struggle against Dolabella (47.30.3). Likewise, the story of how Labienus came to remain among the Parthians after the defeat of Cassius and Brutus suggests an original inclination of the Parthians in favour of these 'liberators' (Dio 48.24.4 ff.). The epitome of Justin only makes a terse mention of Labienus (42.4.7).

That Trogus favoured the tradition which put the civil adversaries of the Caesars in league with the foreign enemy of Rome need not be surprising given the age in which he wrote. Moreover, he may have also been aware of Julius Caesar's decision to go to war against the Parthians, for which he had the backing of the Roman people, just prior to his assassination (Dio 43.51.1–2). Trogus portrays Augustus as the solution to the Parthian difficulties and the civil strife which had drawn them into Roman politics. Unlike all the rest, including Antony, who was driven out of Parthia, the young Caesar Augustus embodies the whole of Roman authority and brings the Parthians under the sway of that hegemony. The model used to convey this to the reader is that same one which will become very familiar in the next chapter in the section addressing arbitration in conflicts of foreign succession. The basic pattern has contenders for foreign thrones attempting to gain legitimacy through Roman acknowledgement; the Romans accept this power, but habitually pass judgements in their own interests, not that of the original petitioner. When the present king of Parthia, Phrahaes, arouses the hatred of his subjects through parricide and other despotic acts in keeping with Trogus' general characterization of this royal line, the conditions allowed a usurper, Tiridates, to be crowned. Tiridates is driven off, but takes with him Phrahaes' youngest son and many courtiers. He travels to Augustus, who is in Spain. Phrahaes also sends delegates. Thus control of Parthia is laid at the feet of the Princeps. Trogus makes

⁸² Compare Cass. Dio 42.2.5–6 and 44.45.3–4 and Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 76.4–6.

this explicit through a comment placed in the mouth of Tiridates; 'Parthia would be under Roman jurisdiction if the throne was his as a gift of the Romans' (Trogus 42.5.8).

Trogus has Augustus hold true to the Roman model of giving in to neither petitioner. Tiridates was granted luxurious living in Rome, although Phrahaes had demanded his return, and Augustus returned Tiridates' hostage, the king's son, to Parthia. The narrative in the epitome lumps together a series of Augustan accomplishments over the Parthians. First, it states the fear he inspired when he came to Syria to arrange a settlement, then how all Romans held in captivity in Parthian territory were repatriated, followed by the return of Crassus' and Antony's captured standards, and finally the surrendering of hostages taken from among the king's own children and grandchildren. This version of events links together the events of more than a decade. While Trogus' narrative may not have been quite so compressed, the impression of sweeping accomplishment must be a transmission of the original, especially given the final comment that 'Caesar [Augustus] accomplished more by the greatness of his reputation than any other general could have done by force of arms' (Trogus 42.5.12). The comparison, especially in light of the reference to the reclaimed standards, makes clear the historian's desire to set the Princeps apart from his forerunners. Thus the historian uses the global scope of Roman civil conflict to glorify its resolution.

In exploring the attitudes towards Rome, as revealed by the historical texts of the core authors, some of the possible motivations for the various portrayals have come to light. There has been evidence of parroting 'official' rhetoric in the use of various mythological traditions. Erroneous or deceptive presentations of Roman power structures may reflect wishful thinking or lack of information on the part of the author. The adoption of Roman standards for moral conduct can suggest an integration of the authorial perspective and that of the Romans. The treatment of domestic strife suggests that the authors were particularly concerned only with those aspects which could affect life in the provinces. And in the construction of 'anti-Romes' we have begun to see how little the authors credited the potential of rival states—a theme which will re-emerge in chapter six.

However, from the onset I have suggested that historical writing can not only embody contemporary attitudes, but also be a

significant historical action in its own right. So it is reasonable to ask how the expression of the views on Rome documented in this chapter can be considered in relation to contemporary political developments. How could a historian influence his audience through the topics just discussed? This brings us back to the question of the composition of the intended audience. For now we may begin with an oversimplified division between potential bearers of Roman *imperium* and those upon whom that *imperium* might be imposed—the division between the Roman and non-Roman elite.

If, therefore, we ask ourselves how the Roman and non-Roman elite may have interpreted the mythological presentations seen at the beginning of this chapter, a number of possibilities seem reasonable. The references to diplomacy based on legendary kinship could be taken as validation for this non-confrontational means of conducting interstate relations. The integration of Roman and Hellenic mythical traditions could be seen as yet another type of plea for harmonious exchange, instead of the perpetuation of rival traditions. The didactic nature of history writing may have made the audiences more receptive to receiving alternative aetiological myths and legends, which could in turn have made them more accepting of the peoples who subscribed to those traditions. Likewise, the ethnographic treatment of Rome could be seen as an attempt to familiarize the subjugated peoples with the new empire and decode it for them. The ethnographic genre is associated with pleasurable awe and wonder on the part of the reader. Although it may distance the audience from the subject, it also encourages the audience to examine the subject for its moral values. When the historian actually adopts a Romanized code of conduct, even when lamenting its lapse, the first steps are taken towards unifying the subject of the ethnographic inquiry and the cultural standards of the audience. Thus far, the suggested approach would seem to centre on the promotion of a harmonious blending of Roman standards and Hellenistic culture. On its own, such an observation might seem of little political value, or only worthy of being considered a diplomatic platitude. However, in the last third of this chapter we have begun to look at material of more direct political consequence, namely historical representations of Roman domestic conflict. This has demonstrated that such conflict was a keen interest of a number of the authors, particularly in so far as it had an impact

on the lives of the provincials. The disruptive and unpleasant side effects of civil instability are repeatedly illustrated; no feasible alternative is offered, except the accommodation of provincial needs as they increase the long-term stability of Roman rule.

Over the next two chapters, these same themes will continue to be made manifest, namely, the lack of a realistic rival for Roman power and the need to find a satisfactory middle ground between the well-being of the subjugated and the further glorification of the rulers. Of course, there is great variety in the perspectives embodied in the core texts, but the debate is focused on pragmatic issues of how to live with Roman rule rather than the theoretical analysis of its morality or viability.

The Romans Abroad: Force, Diplomacy, and the Management of Empire

As the Romans expanded their hegemony over the Mediterranean basin and beyond, their methods of engagement varied to suit individual situations and shifting objectives. These methods moulded the impressions of the local elite and their attitudes to the new ruling power. In composing the contemporary historical record of Roman dominion the core authors had the greatest opportunity to express their views on the approach of the new ruling power and its representatives. All the events discussed in this chapter took place within the living memory of the authors and were decisive in shaping the world they lived in. As members of the provincial elite, the core authors offer unusual perspectives on these events originating from the subjugated peoples. Of course, none of the authors is likely to have described themselves as subjugated or conquered. This is a consequence of the unique Roman policy of bringing conquered peoples into alliances or at least utilizing the local elite in their systems of regional control. As we shall see, the texts of the core authors provide little suggestion of any sense of alienation from the dominant power within the Mediterranean, although it would be equally wrong to say that any of the authors felt fully incorporated into the ruling class.

The relationship of the author to Rome must be borne in mind when analysing any particular passage, but this relationship may be particularly accentuated when the interests of Rome conflict with those of the provincials. The tension created within the text also varies according to the actual manifestation of this conflict of interests; the authors' attitudes to force, diplomacy, and direct rule reflect

their overall pragmatic desire to promote harmonious relations between the central power and peripheral communities. It is convenient to group similar events and records of the same event together for analysis; this technique allows for more significant comparisons of themes across all the authors instead of perhaps more traditional organizational principles such as the chronological progression or a geographical grouping of events. However, the consequent drawback of thematic groupings is an artificial categorization which masks how each type of interaction may be part of a continuous narrative.

Thus, before a systematic discussion of particular topics, it will be methodologically illustrative to examine one multi-dimensional passage in detail. The following passage from Trogus will allow us to look briefly at most of the major themes to be covered in this chapter.

Tigranes was defeated by Lucullus; and Antiochus, son of Cyzicenus, was summoned by the same Lucullus to the throne of Syria. But what Lucullus had given, Pompey later took away. When Antiochus made a request for the throne, Pompey replied that he would not instal him as king even if Syria wanted him, and certainly would not if she were opposed to him, because, during the eighteen years that Tigranes was king of Syria, Antiochus had lurked in a corner of Cilicia. It was only now that Tigranes had been defeated by the Romans that Antiochus came seeking the rewards that the efforts of others had won. He had not, said Pompey, taken away from Antiochus a throne that was his; nor would he give him a kingdom that he had ceded to Tigranes and which he could not defend, for fear that Antiochus would render it once more susceptible to the marauding of Jews and Arabs. Accordingly, Pompey reduced Syria to a province, and little by little the East, through the quarrels of its kings, who were all of the same blood, became the territory of Rome. (Trogus 40.2.2–5)

This comes from the end of Trogus' fortieth book. The opening line suggests that Roman authority derives from military activity, and more specifically that it is the conquering general, Lucullus, who makes judgements as to the future of the conquered territory. This recalls examples where war settlements include the distribution of territory among the loyal allies. As to the origin of Pompey's own authority in the region, one might be tempted to align it with armed force, both because of the parallel drawn between him and Lucullus and because of the allusion to his eastern settlement after the war with the pirates at the end of the previous book (39.5.3). Yet Trogus provides an explanation

for intervention separate from direct military interest. He has Pompey's decision regarding Syria stem from a request by Antiochus XIII himself for confirmation of his power. This type of request is familiar from disputes over succession in royal households when one side or the other seeks validation from Rome. Moreover, it is well within the normal characterization of Roman authority to accept the role of arbiter and then to take actions contrary to the desires of the original petitioner. Given that this discussion in Trogus is set within a broader exposition on the latter years of the Seleucid throne and the conflicts between claimants, it would be less than surprising that he should choose to represent the very last stages of this conflict as part of a continuous desire for securing succession, even if no rival to Antiochus is recorded in the surviving text. The only difference between this example and those to be seen later in this chapter is that we have Pompey, instead of the Senate, taking the decision and dispensing the judgement of the Romans. This power of decision-making vested in one individual is far more familiar from the examples of Roman governors within the historical texts; and, of course, it also finds parallels in the power of Augustus as *Princeps*.

In this instance the explanation takes the form of indirect speech from Pompey himself, with the intended audience narrowly defined as Antiochus the petitioner. In the speech, Pompey is made to present his own conception of his authority. First, he establishes that his decision is not influenced by the desires of 'Syria', by which we must understand some portion of the Syrian populace. Given the following statements, this lack of Syrian autonomy clearly derives from the territory's status as having been subjugated through force. Pompey goes on to criticize Antiochus for seeking the rewards gained by others, after having remained silent for so many years while Tigranes held the throne. The argument finally concludes with a two-part justification, that Antiochus had no throne of which to be deprived and that, if granted one, he would not be able to defend it, and thus compound the damages to be expected from Arabs and Jews. From all this it is clear that Pompey traces his authority to the same source as Lucullus, the Roman defeat of Tigranes, even though this defeat was carried out by another man. This unity of the Romans, even when represented by disagreeing generals, is a key element for understanding the portrayal of Roman hegemony in Trogus.

The other significant element involves the representation of the Roman conception of their hegemony. The lack of concern over the sentiments of the Syrian people is not synonymous with a disregard for the wellbeing of the territory or a general dismissal of justice. Pompey makes a concerted effort to show the reasoning behind his judgement; he was not depriving Antiochus of his own property, and he was ensuring the safety of the region by establishing a viable government. In the surviving text there is nothing to hint at how this logic deviates from the reality of events: when Pompey made his decision in 64, Antiochus XIII had been on the throne for the previous five years.

After the speech, a single sentence draws the discussion to a close. Trogus says, 'little by little the East, through the quarrels of its kings, who were all of the same blood [*consanguineorum*], became the territory of Rome.' This statement puts the agency of change not with the Romans, but in the hands of the conquered, those kings who all traced their lineage back to the Macedonian royal household of Alexander and who had thereafter intermarried extensively. It is their infighting which leads to Roman hegemony, not some action or ambition on the part of the Romans. This lack of initiative on the part of the Romans is reflected in much of the historical writing of the period; it is most prominent in narratives of their role in arbitration, as well as in the explanations of the origins of wars.

The themes of this small case study—sources of Roman authority, both for individual generals and the state as a whole, grounds for intervention, and the consequences of Roman actions—arise repeatedly in the core authors. The subjective nature of all these themes allows for the regular intrusion of the authorial voice into the historical texts.

One difficulty in this chapter arises in deciding what material is intended to reflect the behaviour of the Romans in the Late Republic and age of Augustus. In the previous chapter on the characterizations of the Roman people, examples were taken from the whole corpus of the historical, ethnographical, and mythological discussions in the core authors. Here it is necessary to narrow the inquiry to look at instances which discuss particular actions at particular times, and at how the authors construct their presentations. However, the historians themselves often describe a continuity of behaviour, or trace the

origins of an event to a much earlier period. These patterns thematically link generalized principles to actual events.

Trogus' discussion of the founding and early history of Massilia exemplifies how a historian can emphasize contemporary patterns of behaviour through his representation of earlier historical events.¹ Some consideration has already been given to the historiographical significance of this portion of Trogus' narrative in the discussion of authorial identity in chapter two, but in this context we can observe how his presentation of Romano–Massilian relations allows him to use the distant past to justify and illuminate the present.

In the time of King Tarquinius some young Phocaeans sailed from Asia into the mouth of the Tiber and made an alliance with the Romans, after which they set off in their ships for the remote inlets of Gaul, founding Massilia between the Ligurians and the wild Gallic tribes. (Trogus 43.3.4)

They formed an alliance with the Spaniards and were absolutely loyal to the treaty made with the Romans almost at the original foundation of Massilia, energetically supporting their allies in all their wars. This both increased their confidence in their strength and also guaranteed them peace with their enemies. (Trogus 43.5.3)

Subsequently, some ambassadors of the Massilians who were returning from Delphi (where they had been sent with gifts for Apollo) heard that the city of Rome had been captured and burned by the Gauls. When the news was brought home, it was met with public mourning by the people of Massilia, who contributed gold and silver from both public and private sources to make up the total weight demanded by the Gauls, from whom, they had learned, the Romans had bought peace. In return for this benefaction it was decreed that the Massilians be exempted from taxation, granted seats amongst the senators for public shows and given a treaty putting them on an equal footing with the Romans. (Trogus 43.5.8–10)

¹ This narrative has aroused the interest of historians and historiographers alike, the primary concern of the former often being the relationship between the Greek colony and Rome and that of the latter being Trogus' own heritage in that region and the impact of that on his presentation. J. M. Alonso-Núñez, 'Trogue-Pompée et Massilia (Justin, Epitoma XLIII, 3,4 —XLIII, 5,10)', *Latomus* 53 (1994), 110–17; N. J. DeWitt, 'Massilia and Rome', *TAPA* 71 (1940), 605–15; L. Radermacher, 'Die Gründung von Marseille: Ein Versuch zur Geschichte von Sage und Sitte', *Rh. Mus.* 71 (1916), 1–16. H. H. Scullard's review of G. Nenci, *Le relazioni con Marsiglia nella politica estera romana* (1958) in *JRS* 50 (1960), 253–4 critiques Nenci's hypothesis that the Massilian details derive from Timagenes, who used their positive character to emphasize the barbarity of early Rome.

The first of the passages simply provides Trogus' version of the original treaty between Massilia's founders and one of Rome's kings (Tarquinius Priscus, reigned 616–578). The interesting authorial interpolations are found in the second two passages; these have overtly anachronistic comments based on Rome's later hegemony. In both, Trogus gives the impression that Rome was the superior power. In the first the superiority is expressed in terms of military strength; it is Rome which demands manpower from Massilia and it is through the alliance with Rome that Massilia feels secure against her enemies. Levies were a traditional means by which Rome reaffirmed its hegemony over an 'allied' people; this has already been seen in the previous chapter for the Italians, and will arise again below in the section on provincial administration. In the second, the presumed relationship between the cities is no longer only an alliance of mutual defence. Rome has crossed the line into the role of the ruling state—she extracts tribute and grants equality as an honour. Of course the Rome which Trogus is showing us is that of his own day, not a city just sacked by Gauls, which would hardly have had a pressing interest in the seating of senators at shows (in any case an anachronism) and did not have the capacity to collect taxes overseas. These types of statements completely overlook the important, even dominant role, played by Massilia in the western Mediterranean long before Rome ventured beyond the Italian Peninsula. However, as our interests in this discussion put an author's presentation before his accuracy, Trogus' formulation is useful for refining our understanding of his perspective of Rome in the Late Republic. The passages clearly portray Rome as a benevolent leader, one who defends the weak and rewards the magnanimity shown by her friends.² These characteristics are well paralleled in the wider historical tradition.

These two methodological exercises using portions of Trogus' history show the multi-dimensional nature of the representations to be examined throughout this chapter. They demonstrate many of

² We might compare the following episode from much earlier in the epitome. The Senate ordered the extermination of the city and people of the Phocaeans as retribution for their decision to side with Aristonicus; however, this was forestalled through the diplomatic efforts of the Massilians, who called the Phocaeans their founders (Trogus 37.1.1).

the themes to be elaborated in further depth and warn against any oversimplified interpretation or even strict chronological distinctions of relevant material.

Generalizations on Roman Authority

Sweeping statements on the nature of Roman rule are evident in many of the surviving fragments of the core authors. As such passages may have particularly appealed to extractors, their survival rate may be proportionately distorted. However, generalizations offer a convenient starting point for discussion as they underline those themes which the authors themselves wished to emphasize. These points may seem banal in their sentiments, but in those cases where it is possible to reconstruct the author's original context the use of the particular platitude may illuminate the author's own interpretation of the sentiment and its application.

The Best of Friends, The Worst of Enemies

But thou, O Roman, learn with sovereign sway
To rule the nations. Thy great art shall be
To keep the world in lasting peace, to spare
Humbled foe, and crush to earth the proud.³

Diodorus regularly foreshadows this famous Virgilian sentiment, but the historian claims none of the parallel statements for his own. Instead, he identifies them as the words of a consul, the whisper of rumour, and the intentions of another commander. Without authorial endorsement, it is impossible to attribute this view to Diodorus himself. However, his regular use of the theme, one known to have been adopted by the Romans themselves, shows a keen awareness of the rhetoric of empire building which was employed throughout the period. The Iberian leader, Contobris, sent envoys to the Romans ordering them out of his land with threats of what would happen if they disobeyed (c.139/137 BC). The consul replied,

³ (Verg. *Aen.* 6.851–3). Translation by T. C. Williams.

‘Though the Lusitanians and Celtiberians were much given to great threats and encroachments, the Romans made it their practice to punish wrongdoers and to disregard threats: accordingly, it would become them to demonstrate their valour not with threats but with actions, and indeed their valour would be put to the test’ (Diod. 33.24).

The next passage is without context, being a complete fragment on its own within the collection of the Constantinian excerpts. However, given the surrounding fragments, it too most probably comes from the Spanish Wars. It provides an even clearer parallel to the Virgil passage, by highlighting the two sides of Roman actions, and the catalyst found for the actions in their opponents’ responses. ‘Word was spread abroad of the inexorable vengeance of the Romans on those who opposed them, and of their outstandingly fair treatment of those who obeyed their commands’ (Diod. 33.26.2).

The final example also refers to the duality of Roman policy. It comes a little later when C. Sextius Calvinus (cos. 124) was campaigning in southern Gaul. The anecdote relates to the capture of a particular unnamed town where one Crato had suffered at the hands of his fellow citizens for being pro-Roman. When the consul heard of this he not only freed Crato, but also allowed him to choose 900 of his fellow citizens to be rescued from slavery. Diodorus explains his generosity by saying, ‘he wished to give the Gauls a clear demonstration of Roman thoroughness, whether in dispensing mercy or in exacting reprisals’ (Diod. 34/5.23).

In both of these last two passages the terms *ὑπερβολή* (‘superiority’, ‘extreme’) and *τιμωρία* (‘retribution’, ‘vengeance’) are used. This type of similarity in the language of sentiments recorded in separate books helps to confirm that Diodorus was consciously drawing on a particular rhetorical construction regarding the nature of Roman rule. Given the early date and western geographical distribution of these examples it is tempting to see these elements as central to Diodorus’ characterization of Roman rule, in that this may be intended to represent the Romans’ ideal treatment of ‘barbarians’, as opposed to the civilized East. Unfortunately, the sample size is far too small for any such conclusion to be drawn.

The last incident mentioned bears some resemblance to one recorded in a fragment of Posidonius concerning Nicias of Engyium

(F257 E-K = F43 Jac.). During Marcellus' campaigns in Sicily in 212 BC, Nicias was a partisan of the Romans, while the rest of his city supported the Carthaginians. They plotted to hand him over, but through faking divine intervention Nicias escaped to the Romans, together with his family. When Marcellus arrived at Engyium to exact punishment, Nicias begged for mercy for his own persecutors. Marcellus not only granted this request, but gave the man much land and many gifts. Plutarch, the source for the fragment, does in fact introduce the story as an example of how Marcellus was the first 'to show Greeks a greater quality of justice in the Roman character' (Plut. *Vit. Marc.* 20.1 = F257 E-K = F43 Jac.). However, there is no evidence that in Posidonius' text the story was also used as an example of Roman policy.⁴

Reflections of what we might term 'the Virgilian sentiment' can also be found in other authors, but never with the clarity and exactness of Diodorus. This may suggest that while Diodorus was intimate with the Roman claims regarding their imperial tendencies, the other authors were only half aware of the origins of the platitudes they incorporated into their narratives. A good example of this is the treatment of the Romans in a panegyrical digression in 1 Maccabees. The focus is particularly on their loyalty and their protection of allies, although attention is also given to their swift treatment of enemies. In the case of the former sentiments, we might recall Trogus' statements regarding the benefits derived by the Massilians from their alliance with Rome (43.5.3). As the function of the panegyrical digression within the Maccabean narrative is to explain and justify Judas' break with traditional Judaic avoidance of external alliances, and the particular selection of Rome as the 'exceptional' ally, it is not surprising that the variation of the Virgilian motif focuses on the benefits of this type of behaviour to the Roman allies: 'The remaining kingdoms and islands, as many as ever opposed them, they destroyed and enslaved; but with their friends and those who rely on them they have kept friendship' (1 Macc. 8.11–12, also cf. 8.1).

The final passage of interest on this topic from the core authors is again placed in the mouth of a Roman commander, instead of being

⁴ E. Gabba, 'Posidonio, Marcello, e la Sicilia', in L. Beschi *et al.* (eds.), *ΑΠΛΑΧΑΙ: Nuove ricerche a studi sulla Magna Grecia e la Sicilia antica* (1982), 11.611–14.

formulated in Trogus' own authorial voice. Like the first example from Diodorus, it illustrates only half of the motif. However, Trogus provides a variation on the alternative to moderate treatment of the subjugated. 'When Antiochus sued for peace, nothing was added to the earlier conditions, for Africanus declared that as defeat did not diminish the Roman spirit, so in victory, success did not make it insolent' (Trogus 31.8.8). Instead of emphasizing the zealotry used to prosecute enemies, Trogus balances moderation against those who surrender with Roman fortitude in the face of defeat. Although once again the distance of reported speech does not allow direct attribution of the beliefs to the historian, it should be noted that this variation is far more pessimistic about Roman success. It allows for the representation of the Romans not only as victors, but also as losers. Of course, the pessimism need not be 'anti-Roman', as steadfastness when faced with insurmountable odds is a virtue commonly encountered in ancient literature. We may compare the following fragment of Diodorus for the same trait in the Romans, or even recall the popularity of the narrative of the battle of Thermopylae (cf. Hdt. 7.138–239): 'The Senate, with courageous fortitude in the face of disaster, sought to restrain the general mourning and the excessive lamentation, and bore their heavy load of grief without showing it' (Diod. 34/5.37).

The Source of Roman Strength

Although Diodorus is reluctant to endorse the 'Virgilian' foreign policy of the Romans as his own interpretation, he does not hesitate to speculate on the origins of Roman supremacy. In the surviving fragments there is nothing to suggest a comprehensive theoretical development anything like that permeating the *Histories* of his forerunner and occasional source, Polybius. Instead, his speculations are short statements used to illustrate or explain certain points in the narrative. Given their brevity and limited function, it is not surprising that they show little cohesion or unity, although passages in close proximity to one another in the text do bear more similarities than those separated by books. Two particular passages highlight the relative nature of strength. Diodorus gives the first such assertion of his authority as an interpretative historian, and derives it from a

particular historical example: 'Later the Scordisci, by refusing passage, demonstrated that even Rome's superiority rested not on her own strength but on the weakness of others' (Diod. 34/5.30b).⁵ The second comes within the senatorial debate on the fate of Carthage. Although given as the opinion of the 'more intelligent' senators, it is only an idealized and theoretical position. 'Rome's strength should be judged, they thought, not by the weakness of others, but by showing herself greater than the great' (Diod. 34/5.33.4).⁶

This type of passage suggests that Diodorus wants to emphasize the role of external powers in shaping Roman authority and policy. This is a logical development of the theory of interdependence seen in Diodorus' treatment of Roman Italy in the previous chapter. Further confirmation of Diodorus' belief in the correlation between external events and Roman actions can be seen in another statement from the debate over the fate of Carthage. The historian summarizes the situation, saying that the fear of Carthage forced the Romans 'to rule their subjects equitably and with credit to themselves—much the best means to maintain and extend an empire' (Diod. 34/5.33.5). The implications of this statement are manifold. The inherent logic might be restated in this way: Rome's perception of an external threat caused her to value her allies and therefore to act in such a way as to ensure their continued support. The obvious continuation of this line of reasoning would hold that after the fall of Carthage, Rome no longer viewed fair treatment of her allies as a political and defensive necessity. This again ties in with the theme of decline. However, Diodorus pushes the logic further by making just treatment of the allies a necessity for the maintenance and development of hegemony. This, like the case of the Italian allies in the Social War, acknowledges the power of foreign bodies under Roman control to threaten Roman imperialism, whether or not there is an outside threatening force.

⁵ Cf. this to 30a which uses the Scordisci as an example of the natural law of 'might makes right'.

⁶ K. S. Sacks, 'Review of P. Botteri, *Les Fragments de l'histoire des Gracques dan la Bibliothèque de Diodore de Sicile* (1992)', *Gnomon* 67.2 (1995), 171, suggests that this may not be a textual contradiction, but instead an attempt at irony. Oddly, he seems to criticize Botteri for overlooking the passage, although her subject is the Gracchi. He himself seems to ignore the fact that one fragment is in strong authorial voice and the other is a form of indirect speech, the reported opinion of the better Roman senators.

Diodorus' connection between just treatment of allies and the expansion of empire is made even more explicit in an extended discussion from book 32. He begins by using Philip II and Alexander the Great as examples of men who spread their power through the exercise of clemency (32.4.1–3). He then moves into 'more recent times', when the Romans, contrary to all expectations, have abstained from cruelty and even granted their former foes certain rights, even citizenship, allowing none to surpass them in euergetism. They brought their 'world empire' into being by 'valour at arms' and 'the kindest possible treatment of the vanquished' (32.4.4). However, even this idealized portrayal of Roman expansionism is not allowed to stand without a condemnation of the decline to come: 'but once they held sway over virtually the whole inhabited world, they confirmed their power by terrorism and by the destruction of the most eminent cities' (Diod. 32.4.5).

The introduction to Diodorus' discussion of the Social War also links positive behaviour on the part of the Romans to the establishment of empire. This discussion is more concerned with the internal virtues of discipline, frugality, austerity (37.2.1), and 'adherence to the best laws and customs' (37.3.1) than any particular pattern of foreign policy. Nevertheless, we observe that Diodorus is comfortable making the conceptual leap from intrinsic merit to acquisition of power, without any necessary connecting actions or 'pragmatic' considerations.

At War and After

Given the generally pessimistic, if moralizing, statements seen thus far in Diodorus, one feels that we must be missing the further context of the following statement, even though the sentiment is common in other historical traditions concerning the Romans: 'The Romans make it a point to embark only upon wars that are just, and to make no casual or precipitate decisions about such matters' (Diod. 32.5).⁷ In contrast, Trogus' statements on Roman policy seem to

⁷ Cf. Polybius 36.2 together with Walbank, *HCP* iii. 653–5.

characterize it as beyond didacticism or pragmatism, but rather as moving towards simple aggression: 'for already the fortunes of the Romans, displeased at being confined to Italy, had begun to reach out for the kingdoms of the East' (Trogus 39.5.3). This statement follows the acquisition of Cyrene by inheritance, but it goes on to recount the taking of Crete and Cilicia during the war with the pirates and their transformation into provinces. The consequences of this Roman expansion are described thus:

When this happened, the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt both felt restricted by the proximity of the Romans. They had regularly sought to extend their territories by wars with their neighbours but now that their freedom to manoeuvre was removed, they turned their respective strength to destroying each other. (Trogus 39.5.4)

The implication of this statement is that neither kingdom even considered questioning the Romans' authority or their position in the East. That Rome may be cast as the aggressor in its push towards the East is further supported by Trogus in his brief reference to the conflicts between Rome and the Parthians. His phrasing places the Romans in the position of the initiators: 'By the Romans also they were provoked into three wars...' (41.1.7). As always, it is best to check one's inclinations to see blame or negative judgement in Trogus' statements. In this case, we might compare the statement of the 'positive' consequences of aggression in the West which closes the epitome:

Complete subjection of the country, however, and the Spaniards' acceptance of the Roman yoke could not be achieved until Caesar Augustus, having conquered the rest of the world, turned his victorious arms on them and, bringing a wild and barbarous people to a more civilized way of life under the rule of law, gave them a regular provincial administration. (Trogus 44.5.8)

None of the other core authors gives such direct testimony on the Romans' expansionist tendency and particularly its violent manifestations. Instead, they concern themselves more with individual situations and the motivations they perceive behind Roman actions in each one. Still, rather surprisingly, of all the surviving *reliquiae* from non-Roman historians writing contemporary history at the end of the Republic very few address the issue of Roman aggression or

military actions. Those that do exist tend to focus on individual generals rather than senatorial or Roman policy.

The General in the Field

Memnon seems the least inclined towards sweeping generalizations regarding national identities—the closest he comes in the surviving text is a compliment paid to Roman bravery (38.3). Instead, it is the individual upon whom his judgement falls. Nevertheless, in his treatment of the Roman period there are no surviving digressions detailing any individual's personal character; he comes closest in his introduction of Mithridates, which we will address in the next chapter. For the most part Memnon's observations on character are well integrated with his narrative. Of the Romans, Lucullus receives the most positive treatment: his greatest virtue, in Memnon's eyes, is his restraint when cities are taken in battle (30.4 for Amisus and 37.8 for Sinope). But his generalship is also glorified (38.5). Memnon seems to have had an interest in Roman tactics (cf. Fimbria at 24.4, and Sulla at 22.13), which may have been an even more dominant feature in the original text. In contrast to the sporadic praise of Lucullus, the vilification of Cotta centres on the siege and destruction of Heraclea. However, rather surprisingly, Cotta is criticized not only for his treatment of the city and its citizens, but also for that of his own men. He executes his engineers when the siege machines fail to accomplish what he expected (34.2). When the Heracleans were betrayed to Triarius by Mithridates' garrison commander (who feared Cotta's treacherous nature), Cotta marched against both the city and Triarius' force in such a fury that civil war nearly erupted among the Romans (35.1–6). Cotta berated Triarius' army for removing the honour from the capture of the city through their plundering. Then he himself indulged in an even greater pillaging of the city's wealth, both sacred and secular (35.7–8). Fittingly, Cotta suffered divine and mortal justice, the ships carrying the temple treasures being lost at sea (36) and the Senate eventually stripping him of his senatorial status (39). This type of fateful retribution is found throughout the *History*; compare the much more dramatic fate of Clearchus, the tyrant of Heraclea (1), or of Lamachus, who betrayed the city to Mithridates (34.9). This

contrasting portrayal of Roman generals, even within the same war, underlines how Memnon's localized perspective affected his interpretation, and consequent presentation, of the Romans. Cotta is vilified because he sacked Heraclea; Lucullus' skilful generalship and restraint in the taking of cities can be admired by the Heracleans at a distance.

Throughout his text, Memnon has no reservations about showing Roman generals in conflict with one another; in fact the prevalence of such conflict could almost be considered a dominant theme in his treatment of the Romans abroad. One might be tempted to suggest that this forthright presentation is a reflection of Memnon's own feeling of security, writing at a great distance from the centre of Roman power, possibly with a local audience in mind for his chronicle of his city. The first example is a reference to the conflict between Marius and Sulla (22.6). This conflict is used to explain Sulla's motivation to form a treaty with Mithridates (25). Contrary to Appian's account (*Mith.* 54–8), this treaty is presented as a mutually beneficial arrangement initiated by Sulla to provide him with the resources to return to Rome—Mithridates privately gave him 80 triremes and 3,000 talents! Whereas this conflict between Marius and Sulla is clearly presented from Sulla's point of view, no explicit judgement is made in favour of either Roman. In the form in which Memnon's text now survives, there is no internal evidence to indicate that the conflict between Sulla and Marius was of any greater historical significance than that between Fimbria and Flaccus. In fact, Fimbria, not Sulla, is credited with the victory which turned most of the cities of Asia Minor back to the Romans (24.5). The lack of harmony between Roman generals is further exemplified by Murena's refusal to uphold Sulla's treaty with Mithridates (26.1). Of course, there is also the falling out of Cotta and Triarius over the seizure of Heraclea, just mentioned. Memnon obviously sides with Triarius, but does not make clear to his audience Triarius' junior status, as a legate, which would have made Cotta's rage at his subordinate's underhanded dealings far more understandable. These earlier incidents of internal rivalry make the statement in book 40 that Caesar was out of favour at Rome seem an unexceptional event.

L. Valerius Flaccus was elected as consul *suffectus* in 86 BC after the death of Marius, and was given the command against

Mithridates. C. Flavius Fimbria was his legate.⁸ The vigour of their internal conflicts has left a lasting impression in the historical sources.⁹ Memnon comes down harshly on Flaccus, showing how his arrogant and cruel behaviour led to the revolt of his men and his own murder (24.3). Appian also has a negative treatment of Flaccus, but his Fimbria is equally despicable (*Mith.* 51–2); in contrast, Diodorus is wholly committed to the vilification of Fimbria, and his one mention of Flaccus seems flattering. It is again in the extended fragments of Diodorus that we are able to see in greater detail the types of character portrayal only hinted at in the surviving epitome of Memnon.

Only four fragments survive from Diodorus (38/9.8), three out of *de virtutibus et vitiis* and one from *de sententiis*. The first (38/9.8.1) describes a march, usually thought to be that through Thrace towards Byzantium in the winter of 86/5 BC. Fimbria and the troops under his command proceeded at some distance in front of the consul. Fimbria, motivated by a desire to curry favour with the troops, allowed the plunder of 'the territory of allies as if it were enemy country, enslaving anyone they encountered'. This type of behaviour is reminiscent of that which Diodorus sees behind the Second Sicilian Slave Revolt; in that instance, it was the enslavement of Bithynians by tax-collectors that led the Senate to order no allied citizen to be held in slavery in the provinces (36.3.1). The abuse of allied citizens is linked by Diodorus, not only to unrest in the provinces, but also to a reduction in the allied manpower available for Roman military campaigns. Just as the Bithynian king had done before them, the people of Thrace appealed against their abuse. Flaccus takes up the cause of the allies, only to be confronted by Fimbria's deceptive tactics. He denies all support for the plunder, but orders the men not to make any retribution. Eventually, their cross-purposes escalate to mutiny. There is little intrusion of authorial voice in this particular fragment, but some analysis may be possible. A few of the underlying premises are easy to identify: Flaccus acts correctly; Fimbria is wrong; and in other instances, abuse of allies has led to internal conflict, just as internal

⁸ A. Lintott, 'The Offices of C. Flavius Fimbria in 86–5 BC', *Historia* 20 (1971), 696–701, and J. Stroux, 'Der Redner C. Flavius Fimbria', *Philologus* 94 (1941), 338–42.

⁹ A. Lintott, 'Mithridatica', *Historia* 25 (1976), 489–91, provides a detailed discussion of the chronology of their actions and deaths.

conflict has led to rebellion in the provinces. It would seem that this instance is yet another illustration of this interdependence between foreign and domestic politics in the newly emergent Roman empire. In this case, the abuse of the allies by Fimbria in a ploy to gain power within the military structure actually leads to the disintegration of that military structure.

The second and third fragments from Diodorus (38/9.8.2 and 3) simply continue an exposition of Fimbria's crimes and the greed of the troops after they crossed the Hellespont. Diodorus' choice of phrase for describing the troops' reaction to Fimbria is interesting; he says 'they loved him as a common benefactor'. 'Common Benefactor' is an epithet applied throughout this period specifically to Rome, especially in honorific decrees in the Greek East.¹⁰ To have it applied here by a Greek author as the response of wayward Roman troops to a usurper of Roman *imperium* seems distinctly ironic in tone. Was Diodorus possibly indirectly questioning the free praise applied to the new ruling power, which had not yet developed any consistency of approach in the exercise of its rule? The only other narrative development of possible significance in these two fragments is the shift of the crimes from the troops themselves to Fimbria. It is he who forces the surrender of Nicomedeia and he who enters Cyzicus as a friend but brings capital charges against the wealthiest men in the city so as to plunder their property. This shift allows Diodorus to condemn particular behaviours in a specific Roman, while still allowing for the possibility of productive Roman administration. The fourth and final fragment of Diodorus to treat Fimbria confirms, if there had been any doubt, the authorial hostility towards this particular Roman. He 'brought such disasters on the province as one might expect from a man who had resorted to such impious methods to win the power to do as he pleased . . . and when he died by his own hand, he died but once who should have died a thousand deaths' (Diod. 38/9.8.4).

These portrayals of individual Romans, of which we shall see many more, raise questions regarding the correct interpretation of the historians' views on the relationship of the individual to the state. I lean away from any sharp distinction between the abstract concept

¹⁰ A. Erskine, 'The Romans as Common Benefactors', *Historia* 43.1 (1994), 70–87.

of Roman *imperium* and its application, which by its very nature was executed by individual magistrates (and promagistrates) who had little to no restrictions on their actions. Any provincial would be deeply concerned with the moral character of the governor they received, as that one individual embodied the whole authority of the Roman people for his tenure.

Treaties

The final stages of military activity, namely the long-term settlements and their consequences, seem to have been of greater interest. There is a certain logic in this preoccupation among contemporary historians from non-Roman backgrounds; such details were the portions of the past which dictated the present reality for their kinsmen and peers. The dominant theme in all the core authors who are known to have treated this subject is the severity and ruthlessness of the Romans in reaching an agreement which suits their own objectives. Often the individual commander is given credit for the settlement, instead of the Senate or people of Rome.

Diodorus presents the Romans as well aware of the difficult nature of the demands they imposed and the likely responses of their foes. 'When Viriathus requested an interview, the consul Popilius decided to state one by one the Roman demands, for fear that if they were mentioned all at once, in desperation and fury he would be driven to implacable hostility' (139 BC, Diod. 33.19, cf. Dio 22.75). The concerns are not unjustified, given Roman experiences with Numantia (Diod. 33.16) and Carthage (Diod. 32.6); both had initially agreed to the Roman conditions, but when faced with leaving themselves defenceless or without their traditional lands thought better of their surrender. One might read this passage as hostile toward the 'cunning' of the Romans, or equally as fitting with the pattern of the two other incidents mentioned, in which the Romans prefer settlement to destruction and only resort to the latter when their adversary will not accept terms.

Alongside harshness, which will be seen again in further detail below, another characteristic of the 'Roman settlement' is its lack of finality. One commander can modify the terms established by the last. There is of course a feature of the Roman constitution which

makes this legitimate, namely the need for ratification of treaties by the Senate and people. However, the cases of reversals as presented in the core authors show no consideration of this technicality, instead preferring to present the inconsistency as a characteristic of the generals themselves. This may again be a reflection of the authors' status as outside observers of Roman policy, keenly aware of the implementation of policy in the provinces, but not attuned to the mechanisms of its formation at Rome. We have already looked in depth at one instance from Trogus at the beginning of this chapter, namely Pompey's reversal of Lucullus' settlement of the Syrian throne (40.2.3–5). A theme common to this and the following example is the apparent need to justify the negation of the previous treaty. Photius' summary of Diodorus book 33 tells us that Q. Servilius Caepio (cos. 140), upon arriving in Spain, annulled the treaty with the Lusitanians, apparently as it was 'unworthy of the Romans'. Having reduced their leader by force to the point at which he asks for a truce, Caepio still proceeds to have an assassination carried out. With the successor he imposes a treaty of his own taste (no details are given), and grants the Lusitanians land and a city (Diod. 33.1.4). The giving back of property to the losers is yet another regular theme, but here it seems to arouse no authorial scorn.

This annulling of a treaty made with a previous general is also seen in Memnon's account of the Mithridatic Wars. In his narrative Sulla has made a settlement with the king to his own advantage so as to aid his return to Italy to face Marius. Mithridates sends an embassy to Murena with the terms agreed upon, but is rebuffed (26.1). The annulment is mildly surprising given that the agreement reached had been fully in favour of the Romans. In fact, in Appian's account the episode is painted as a Roman victory instead of a mutually beneficial compromise, although Appian too records Murena's response, justifying it by saying that Sulla had never put the agreement in writing.¹¹ As for the treaty itself, the epitome of Memnon's text is as follows:

An agreement was made that Mithridates would depart from Asia on behalf of the Romans, the hereditary kings would rule Bithynia and Cappadocia, the kingdom of the whole of Pontus would be secured for Mithridates,

¹¹ For Mithridates' submission see App. *Mith.* 54–8, and for Murena's response, 64.

and he would privately provide to Sulla 80 triremes and 3,000 talents for his own return to Rome, and the Romans would extract no punishment from the cities which had gone over to Mithridates, although contrary to the agreement this did happen—for later they enslaved many of the cities. (Mem. 25.2)

An alternative account of the terms is offered by Appian (*Mith.* 55). As already mentioned, the primary divergence between the two accounts is in their versions of the origin of the agreement. Appian holds that the terms were wholly dictated by Sulla to Mithridates' representative in Greece when the king sued for peace, but Mithridates only finally accepted in person in Asia. Sulla's willingness to come to terms in both cases is linked to his desire to return to Rome with adequate resources to reinstate himself and drive out the Marian faction. By contrast, Appian has Sulla only promise to attempt to persuade the Romans to forget Mithridates' actions, thus implying that he was acting on behalf of his state.

The terms as recorded by each historian fit well with the themes they highlight elsewhere in the narration of the war. In Memnon the money is extracted for Sulla's own use, whereas in Appian it pays for the cost of the war. Memnon makes no mention of one of Appian's terms, namely the return of captives, especially the Chians. This is logical in that it would remove credit for the restoration of the Chians from the Heracleans and place it with the Romans. Perhaps most striking are the concessions offered in each version to Mithridates and his allies. As just mentioned, Appian only has Sulla offering his own advocacy before the Romans, whereas Memnon writes into the treaty an immunity for cities which had inopportunately switched sides. It is no coincidence that his own city, Heraclea, made just such an error and was repeatedly punished for it by the Romans. Memnon clearly condemns the negation of this aspect of the treaty. The one aspect on which the sources seem to agree is the taking of the fleet by Sulla for his return journey. Diodorus (38/9.6) provides some confirmation, saying of Sulla that, '... after cutting to pieces the forces of Mithridates in Boeotia and forcing Athens to capitulate, he made an ally of Mithridates, and taking over the king's fleet returned home to Italy' (Diod. 38/9.6). Likewise, Appian's account also focuses on the ships, first in Sulla's demands (*Mith.* 55) and again at Mithridates' acceptance of the terms offered (58).

This type of demand for useful materials need not only be a means of gaining supplies, but could also be interpreted as purely punitive.¹² We see it presented as such in earlier wars, including that against Numantia. During that war there is a consistent pattern of the Romans offering terms and their adversaries agreeing and then reneging on them. First Numantia and Termessus agree to become friends and allies, upon the surrender of 300 hostages, 9,000 cloaks, 3,000 hides, 800 war horses, and all their weapons. They gave up all of these, but then thought better of handing over weapons and reopened hostilities (Diod. 33.16). This recalls Viriathus' concerns over the terms offered by the Romans, as was discussed above.

Something of the harshness with which Roman treaties could be enforced, or perceived to be enforced, is seen in Diodorus' characterization of the dilemma faced by the people of Pinna. When the Italians tried to persuade them to join in the rebellion, they were threatened with the execution of their children if they refused. They tell the Italians that 'they should easily beget others provided they were true to their alliance with Rome' (Diod. 37.19.4). In another fragment addressing the same incident the authorial voice explains how the Pinnan alliance with the Romans compelled them to detach themselves from their natural emotions and stand idly by while their children were slaughtered. The clear implication of both the authorial perspective and that attributed to the men of Pinna is that while the Italians had the immediate power over the lives of the children, the treaty with Rome held a lasting power over the very existence of the city. The authorial judgement is not against the Romans who require such steadfast behaviour, but instead in favour of the resolute allies who have the foresight to look beyond the immediate danger and to the future of their city under Roman *imperium*. This clearly implies that the didacticism of the narrative is not directed towards the Romans of the ruling class, but instead at those faced with the reality of life under Roman dominion.

¹² Compare Roman demands for the surrender of allied foes, which removes tactical threats, but also brings shame to those who break their treaties. Diod. 33.17: Pompeius (cos. 140) requires the Lagni to surrender their Numantine allies; Diod. 34/5.39: Marius requires Bocchus to surrender Jugurtha (cf. 36.1); and Mem. 31.2: Lucullus demands the surrender of Mithridates from Tigranes, who notably refuses.

A final illustrative example comes from the end of Diodorus' *Library*. The first surviving fragment from book 40 provides a brief overview of Romano-Cretan relations during the first century BC. It begins by mentioning the peace which was made between the Cretans and Marcus Antonius (c.71 BC). In the surviving text at least Diodorus gives no indication of the common historical tradition that this peace was a humiliation to the Romans because it was made on terms favourable to the Cretans following their defeat of Antonius.¹³ He simply says that the Cretans observed the peace for a time, before taking up the public debate of how they could best serve their own interest. Adhering to the advice of their elders, they sent an embassy of thirty of their most eminent men to petition the Senate to consider them friends and allies. Diodorus takes care to describe their lobbying in Rome, winning over individual senators of prominence before taking the matter before the whole house. All would have been fine, but Lentulus Spinther vetoed the measure. No reason is given for his veto. Some time later, after repeated reports that the Cretans were in league with the pirates, the Senate declared that the Cretans should surrender all ships with four or more oars, 300 hostages from their most prominent men including Lasthenes and Panares, and 4,000 talents of silver. The Cretans deliberated on these demands and the more prudent argued that they should comply. However, Lasthenes' supporters, fearing punishment if given as hostages, riled up the people with the rhetoric of freedom. The authorial judgement on the behaviour of Cretans is clear: those who argue for deference to Roman authority are vindicated, both in the initial embassy and with regard to the ultimatum. It is more difficult to see any concrete opinion on the Roman actions described in this passage. Yet given Diodorus' propensity to highlight the impact of domestic politics on foreign affairs, one might be tempted to see this as a moralizing tale against Lentulus Spinther's interference with the wisdom of Senate, in that the Cretans were willing to capitulate at that point, but only when denied an alliance did they revert to piracy.

Of course, not all interstate agreements were formed in the aftermath of war or were between former enemies. The core authors also provide us with examples of the types of arrangements Rome made

¹³ App. *Sic.* 6.1, Tac. *Ann.* 12.62, Sall. *Hist.* 3.8–9 M.

with friendly states. The language of such arrangements has already been explored in the above discussion of the relationship between Rome and Massilia, as presented by Trogus. Memnon recorded the diplomatic relations between Heraclea and Rome immediately after the digression on Roman history in his chronicle. They are all set around the war with Antiochus, and are reported with such detail as to inspire confidence in the authenticity of the account.¹⁴ At the very least, there is no question that Memnon wanted his audience to trust his account and that he supplied the details to gain that trust. His details are not limited to the names of the Roman commanders and references to the documents produced by the diplomacy, but also include definitions of the relationships established. Friendship entailed 'never failing to render aid whenever one party was in need of something from the other' (18.6), and an alliance required them 'not only to be friends, but also allies to one another, both according to and beyond what each one might ask' (18.10).

In total, Memnon records four diplomatic exchanges, all of which were initiated by the Heracleans: the first established friendship, which was confirmed by a letter from a 'Poplius' Aemilius writing on behalf of the Senate (18.6); the second confirmed this friendship with 'Cornelius Scipio who had conquered Libya for the Romans' (18.7); the third attempted to reconcile the Romans and Antiochus,

¹⁴ H. B. Mattingly, 'Rome's Earliest Relations with Byzantium, Heraclea Pontica, and Callatis', in A. G. Poulter (ed.), *Ancient Bulgaria* (1981), 239–52, in an attempt to reconcile Memnon's account of this early diplomacy with other historical information, especially the epigraphic record, has concluded that Memnon supplemented whatever literary source he might have been following with his own research. In doing this, Memnon may have mistaken documents pertaining to Heraclea under Latmus as relating to his own city. (cf. Memnon 18.6–9 with Sherck, *Augustus* no. 35 (Syll.³ 618) and 36 (SEG I, 440), and Livy 37.26.5–11 and 31.3. Also cf. Memnon 21 with *SC de Asclepiade*, CIL I² 588, and Sherck, *Augustus* no. 22 ll. 5–9.) Mattingly develops this hypothesis because there are surviving documents from Heraclea under Latmus concerning events similar to those referred to in Memnon, namely diplomatic exchanges during the war against Antiochus and the supply of warships to the Romans during the Marsic War. I would argue that these parallel documents only increase the likelihood of Memnon's claims; it is not necessary to assume that our literary and epigraphic evidence should overlap. However, Mattingly's argument raises the question of where Memnon could have had access to documents which he might then have mistakenly thought pertained to Heraclea Pontica instead of Heraclea under Latmus. The only likely answer would be Rome. Although I do not find Mattingly's argument so strong that I am willing to relocate Memnon from one side of the Greek world to the other, the possibility of such mobility must be allowed.

in response to which a Cornelius Scipio and his brother, a 'Poplius' Cornelius Scipio, both wrote to Heraclea expressing the goodwill of the Romans and reporting the end of the conflict with Antiochus (18.8); and the fourth established the treaty which was inscribed on bronze in the temples of both cities, but the Romans involved in this last act are only identified as 'those sent as successors to the generals by the Romans' (18.10). All this gives a strong impression that Memnon wanted to leave no doubts in the mind of his audience regarding the legitimacy of Heraclea's relationship with Rome or the eagerness of the Heracleans to establish such relationships. This is not Eastern diplomacy from a Roman perspective; these interactions with Heraclea were of no particular strategic importance to Roman interests in the area, nor did they become important to the Romans at a later date. Instead, they are recorded in such detail by Memnon in order to provide a historical context for later interactions, interactions which in the light of these relationships leave Rome looking like a fair-weather friend.

Distribution of Territory

So far in this chapter we have looked at instances where Rome has been shown to interact with foreign states in such a way as to acknowledge their independent authority, even if Rome acts in a dominant manner. Here, we move away from this model of sovereign powers engaging in conflict and diplomacy. Rome becomes the voice of authority, the source of judgements concerning the future governance of territory. It is not quite administration, as there is no obvious intent to impose direct rule or otherwise structure aspects of local politics. However, in these situations the core authors do not represent Rome as one of many nations, but instead as the overarching judge.

However, this new role is not represented by the core authors as a radical or self-interested development. Instead, it is the natural outgrowth of other aspects of Roman actions and the choices of other nations. The first few instances which we will consider address Roman choices regarding lands over which one could say they had a 'legitimate' entitlement, either through military conquest or

inheritance. However, the bulk of the examples come from situations where Roman claims seem tenuous at best. The running connection, however, is the petitioning of the Romans for assistance or arbitration. Thus it is through the requests of foreign peoples that the core authors show the most pervasive expansion of Roman hegemony. This does not mean that those who requested intervention were often (or ever) satisfied with the results. All the authors make clear that the Romans felt entitled, after receiving a request, to impose whatever solution they felt most advantageous to themselves.

Types of Justification

After the war with Antiochus III, Trogus tells his readers how the Romans divided up the captured states among their allies (31.8.9).¹⁵ Likewise, after the war with Aristonicus, Trogus specifically mentions the rewards given to the kings who gave assistance. This meant the giving of Greater Syria to Mithridates V and Lycaonia and Cilicia to Ariarathes VI. Of course at the same time the greater portion of the kingdom was transformed into the lucrative Roman province of Asia Minor. This latter war had been brought about by the bequest of Pergamum to Rome by Attalus III, with Aristonicus making a rival claim as the (illegitimate) son of the king's elder brother. As far as the surviving text demonstrates, Trogus places no special emphasis or comment on the will of Attalus III that left his kingdom to the Romans. However, at least in the epitome of Justin, it is the concluding sentence of a long disquisition on the king's encroaching madness at the end of his life. His behaviour becomes progressively more bizarre. The reader is left to wonder whether the bequest is yet another example of Attalus' insanity (36.4.1–5). Inheritance itself is not an unprecedented model for the transfer of power.¹⁶ Trogus also reports how Cyrene passed into Roman hands through the last testament of Ptolemy's brother; this too became a province (39.5.2–3). We might be suspicious if all the examples had Rome as

¹⁵ A. N. Sherwin-White, 'Roman Involvement in Anatolia, 167–68 BC', *JRS* 67 (1977), 62–75.

¹⁶ There is a published will of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II 'Physcon', as king of Cyrene in 155 BC, leaving his kingdom in the event of his death to the Romans (*SEG* ix, 7 = Sher, *Augustus* no. 31).

the sole benefactor, but this is not the case. Trogus' speech of Mithridates confirms that the practice of bestowing the kingdom on a foreign power through a will when the royal line became extinct was not unheard-of during the period. He claims that his father acquired Paphlagonia in just this way, being adopted by the last king in his last testament (38.5.4). Later in the same speech he claims that he himself has inherited Colchis, Paphlagonia and the Bosphorus because of his own munificence (38.7.10).

There are also cases where it is less than clear how or why Rome became involved in the debate over who should control a particular territory. Some of the lack of clarity may come from the fragmentary nature of the core texts. One illustration will suffice. There is no direct mention of the means by which Contoniatus was supported in his succession to the chieftainship of Iontora, but he gained that support by living in Rome and adopting Roman ways. The following is the whole of the surviving fragment from Diodorus:

Contoniatus, chieftain of the Gaulish city called Iontora, was a man of unusual sagacity and military ability, and was a friend and ally of the Roman people. This was natural, as he had previously spent much time in Rome, had come to share their ideals and way of life, and through Rome's support had succeeded to his chieftainship in Gaul. (Diod. 34/5.36)

Such favouritism should not be surprising. The logic is the same as on the previous occasions when territory had been granted to allies. It is just that the underlying premise is more explicit here: the Romans preferred to have rulers friendly to themselves in control of territory which they did not directly control themselves.

As already mentioned, however, the majority of the examples have one of the claimants to a throne or other dominant position approaching Rome for assistance. The most elaborate example evident in the core authors is in fact Judaea from the Maccabean uprising through to the death of Herod and Augustus' division of the kingdom. The plethora of information on this region is directly connected with the deeply entrenched tradition of history writing in the local culture, which allowed for the creation and preservation of 1 Maccabees and also produced an environment conducive to the production of Nicolaus' *Universal History*. The general interest in the late years of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms also prompted documentation in historians working at a

greater geographical distance from Judaea. However, before looking in depth at this material, it will be best to look at a few 'snapshot' cases from the wider Mediterranean, so as to emphasize that the Romano-Judaic relations were far from unique or exceptional.

In the struggle for the Seleucid throne, Tryphon, the guardian and murderer of the boy king Antiochus VI, attempted to gain legitimacy by soliciting the Romans (c.138 BC).¹⁷ His desire for foreign validation might in part have derived from his inability to make a hereditary claim to the throne. According to Diodorus, he sent a gold statue of Victory, weighing 10,000 staters, to the Roman people.¹⁸ The Senate chose to accept the gift as a good omen and profitable object, but substituted on the inscription the name of the murdered boy, over whom Tryphon had had guardianship, for that of Tryphon's own. Diodorus clearly illustrates by this episode this foreign ruler's perception of Roman authority in distant matters, as well as the Romans' own willingness to accept just such authority. They would not be a pawn in someone else's games nor be dragged into a dispute of little interest to them. They could have inscribed any name on the base, but they chose the one candidate for the throne who would never hold it—the dead prince. However, the foreign conception, right or wrong, that Roman support could be purchased is again illustrated by Diodorus' report that Mithridates sent his ambassadors to Rome in 101 BC 'with a large sum of money for the bribing of the Senate' (36.15.1). Unfortunately, as Diodorus' focus is the reaction to this by the tribune Saturninus, we learn nothing of the purpose of the bribe in the surviving fragment. However, as Mithridates was at this point only consolidating power within the traditional bounds of his hereditary kingdom, and honorific decrees within the Hellenistic world positively link him with the Romans, one might assume that Mithridates was, like Tryphon, only seeking acknowledgement of his authority.¹⁹

¹⁷ Diod. 33.28a. Schürer, *History*, i. 130–1, gives an overview and a list of primary sources, and also offers discussion of the chronological difficulties over the time of the murder and Tryphon's own assumption of the throne. Also see T. Fischer, 'Zu Tryphon', *Chiron* 2 (1972), 201–13.

¹⁸ A parallel may be found in the gold shield sent by Simon Maccabee when renewing his alliance with the Romans (1 Macc. 14.25).

¹⁹ For a general discussion, see B. C. McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates Eupator* (1986), chapter three, 'Eupator in Asia before the First War with Rome', and the first

Another parallel for Tryphon is found in Trogus' presentation of the dispute over the succession to the throne of Cappadocia. Mithridates of Pontus had been attempting to control the kingdom first through a marriage alliance, then through a series of murders, and finally by putting in power his own eight-year-old son with an adviser, Gordius, as regent (38.1).²⁰ At this point in the struggle, the Cappadocians recalled the brother of their late kings, but he too was defeated by Mithridates. This led Nicomedes the king of Bithynia to put forward a pretender in the person of a handsome youth, claiming he was a son of the late king.²¹ This youth was sent to Rome to claim his 'father's kingdom' from the Senate. Mithridates in turn dispatched Gordius to Rome to claim that the boy he had elevated was also descended from the royal line, in particular the Ariarathes who had died bringing aid to the Romans in the war with Aristonicus. Trogus represents the Senate as recognizing the ambitions of the kings and deciding to gratify neither.²² First they attempted to 'liberate' the kingdom, but when the Cappadocians demanded a monarch, they raised Ariobarzanes to the position (38.2). Again, as in Diodorus, Trogus makes the twofold point that the Romans were perceived as having the power to confirm the legitimacy of a sovereign and only chose to exercise that power as was best for themselves, not allowing themselves to be manipulated through the ambitions of others. Trogus chooses to emphasize that the Roman's first choice was liberation, but that they modified their choice of government when it proved unworkable.

In the next stage of development, Trogus also makes it clear that the Senate is willing to use action as well as words. Mithridates and Tigranes drove out Ariobarzanes from Cappadocia and then the son of Nicomedes from Bithynia. Both men hastened to Rome to complain, and in response, two generals were dispatched to restore their

section of chapter four, 'The First War with Rome: Propaganda'. For the dedications, see F. Chapoutier, *Le Sanctuaire des dieux de Samothrace. Exploration Archéologique de Délos* vol. 16 (1935), 13–42, esp. 38–9. Also see discussion on the portrayal of Mithridates by the core authors in the next chapter.

²⁰ B. C. McGing, *Foreign Policy of Mithridates Eupator* (1986), 72–88.

²¹ D. G. Glew, 'The Cappadocian Expedition of Nicomedes III Euergetes, King of Bithynia', *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 32 (1987), 23–55.

²² A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy in the East, 186 BC to AD 1* (1984), 105 ff.

positions (38.3.3–4). This tendency of the Romans to enforce their will is echoed in a brief statement regarding the succession in Bithynia from the epitome of Memnon: ‘When the Senate in Rome affirmed Nicomedes son of Nicomedes and Nysa as king of Bithynia, Mithridates used <Socrates>, nicknamed Chrestos, to oppose Nicomedes. Nevertheless, the decision of the Romans prevailed over Mithridates against his will’ (22.5). In Trogus’ Western perspective the relevant details include the journey of the dethroned individuals to Rome, while Memnon’s Eastern interests lead him to focus on Mithridates’ tactics. Trogus’ version emphasizes that the impetus for intervention originated with the relevant parties. Rome does not act; she re-acts.

From a few surviving fragments of Diodorus it appears that he used the struggle between Jugurtha and his adopted brothers for the Numidian throne to illustrate not just a tendency towards reaction, but even to inaction on the part of the Romans.²³ Adherbal, the chief opponent of Jugurtha, sent to Rome begging for assistance as a friend and ally. Even when Jugurtha took no heed of the young ambassadors sent out initially, they responded only by sending another embassy of more senior men. Again, Jugurtha ignores them and flouts their authority by torturing and killing the Italians within Cirta.²⁴ Another fragment again has Jugurtha flouting Roman authority through his assassination of another rival to the throne, another Jugurtha (in other texts his name is given as Massiva; 34/5.35a). This second Jugurtha had, like Adherbal, deferred to Roman authority over the succession, travelling to Rome itself. Because he gained popularity there, Jugurtha, also in Rome at this time, hired assassins and then returned to Numidia. Diodorus emphasizes that he was able to return unhindered. It is difficult to see why Diodorus chose to emphasize the lack of timely response to such forceful catalysts for action. Perhaps it may be possible to draw some insight from Diodorus’ characterization of Marius during the following war against Jugurtha. As we saw in the previous chapter, Diodorus’ young Marius

²³ For a discussion within a larger context, see H. W. Ritter, *Rom und Numidien* (1987), esp. 89–117.

²⁴ 34/5.31, cf. Sall. *Iug.* 21–7. Diod. 34/5.32, a separate fragment, seems to have Jugurtha marvelling at Roman courage, but given the poor state of the manuscript at this point it is impossible to recover any context.

is an exemplum of traditional Roman virtue, but he is ostracized from the company of other nobles (34/5.38). Such a dichotomy between one heroic figure and the mass of the aristocracy is a familiar hallmark of the theme of decline in historical texts; we might compare Polybius' portrayal of Scipio Aemilianus in contrast with his peers (31.29). In his monograph on the Jugurthine War Sallust repeatedly returns to the theme of Roman decline. Thus, perhaps, in Diodorus too the theme of decline is present and Roman inaction is a symptom.

The Case of Judaea

Judaeo-Roman relations have naturally been a major field of scholarly inquiry, just as Jewish history in the Hellenistic age has been a particularly rich academic subject.²⁵ Again, this provides an ample foundation on which to build the present discussion, but as so often it is equally important to recall that the task at hand is establishing the authorial interpretations of Roman actions or reactions to Rome, not the veracity of events themselves. Because one of our primary sources, 1 Maccabees, is part of the corpus of texts which have become the biblical Apocrypha, it has received particularly focused

²⁵ On Judaeo-Roman interaction: J. Briscoe, 'Eastern Policy and Senatorial Politics 168–146 BC', *Historia* 18 (1969), 49–70, esp. 53; Th. Liebmann-Frankfort, 'Rome et le conflit judéo-syrien (164–161 avant notre ère)', *Ant. Class.* 38 (1969), 101–20; and T. Rajak, 'Roman Intervention in a Seleucid Siege of Jerusalem?', *GRBS* 22 (1981), 65–81. On Hellenism and Judaism: E. S. Gruen, 'Hellenism and Persecution: Antiochus IV and the Jews', in P. Green (ed.), *Hellenistic History and Culture* (1993), 238–64; E. S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism. The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (1998), 1–40; A. Momigliano, 'Greek Culture and the Jews', in M. I. Finley (ed.), *The Legacy of Greece* (1981), 325–46; T. Rajak, 'The Hasmonaeans and the Uses of Hellenism', in P. R. Davies and R. T. White (eds.), *A Tribute to Geza Vermes. Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History* (1990), 261–80. Special attention should be given to Shürer, *History*, particularly i.171, which argues for a central Roman interest in Seleucid politics after Antiochus III, and a policy of intervention which made the Romans very receptive to Jewish pleas for autonomy, as they generally supported a separatist programme. As examples, he discusses Popilius Laenas compelling Epiphanes to give up Egypt and senatorial demands that Eupator and Lysias seriously reduce their military strength. Shürer, *History*, i.172 identifies Justin 36.3.9 and Diod. 40.2 as confirming the historicity of the Jewish appeal to Rome.

study, and analyses of the characterization of Rome in this work have been numerous.²⁶

In the previous chapter we looked at the general presentation of Rome in 1 Maccabees, especially with reference to chapter eight and its extended digression on the habits and history of the Roman people, since these factors contributed to the protagonist's decision to open diplomatic relations and seek an alliance with Rome. Here the inquiry shifts to look at the portrayal of Roman actions, the majority of which take the form of the exchange of ambassadors and letters. The author of 1 Maccabees attempted to establish his authority and the veracity of his testimony through reference to actual documents. The following list summarizes those which are included or mentioned in the text:

The Jerusalem copy of the alliance with Rome, engraved on bronze, which included a copy of a letter to Demetrius I (8.21–32).

The text mentions, but does not include, the letters of safe conduct from the Romans given to Jonathan's ambassadors (12.4).

The letter from Jonathan to the Spartans, which mentions that the same embassy is bound for Rome (12.5–17). Attached to this letter is a letter from King Arius to the High Priest Onias.

The text mentions, but does not include, the bronze tablets which renewed with Simon the treaty, 'that had been established with his brothers, Judas and Jonathan' (14.18–19).

The letter of the Spartans to Simon confirming kinship (14.20–3).

The Romans' letter to numerous Hellenistic cities and kings announcing their protection of the Jews and mentioning the gold shield sent by Simon (15.15–24).

If for the moment one accepts that all of these documents, in some form, were actually known to the author (and not his own creation), it is relatively easy to see his principles of historical reconstruction.

²⁶ M. Sordi, 'L'elogio dei Roman nel i libro dei Maccabei', in her *Storiografia e propaganda* (1975), 95–104; H. A. Gärtner, 'Reflexe römischer Selbstdarstellung im 1 Makkabäerbuch', in M. Baumbach, H. Köhler, and A. M. Ritter (eds.), *Mousopolos stephanos Festschrift für Herwig Görgemanns* (1998), 309–19; W. Olbrich, 'Das Römerkapitel des 1 Makkabäerbuches Ein: Begleittext zum Thema "Römischer Imperialismus" im Leistungskurs', *Anregung Zeitschrift für Gymnasialpädagogik* 32 (1986), 374–83.

For each document which indicated that it was a response to an embassy, the author included an appropriate dispatch of that embassy. In fact, it is not necessary to assume that he had any other detailed information regarding diplomacy. Where the modern scholar must break with the author's interpretations is concerning the Roman renewal of the treaty with Simon, which is implied to have been initiated by the Romans at the death of Jonathan. It seems best to consider the Roman treaty renewal of 14.18–19, and the Spartan letter of 14.20–3, as responses to Jonathan's dispatch of 12.1–17, not independent initiations of diplomatic relations, even though they are addressed to Simon instead of Jonathan. One would have to allow for a messenger sent out after the ambassadors to announce Jonathan's death and the succession of Simon; this does not contradict the narrative of 1 Maccabees, which makes reference to the announcement of both events in Rome and Sparta just before the first mention of both cities' sending letters to Simon. Admittedly the language of the text is ambiguous, using variations of the verb 'to hear' without any indication of the source of the information, but a messenger sent for that purpose seems a more likely source than hearsay. The author may have been aware of this possibility, but because of the ambiguity of his available sources, thought it would imply greater prestige for the Hasmonaean dynasty if he assumed that Rome and Sparta made diplomatic overtures to the new ruler of their own accord.

The possibility that some of the documents are the creation of the author must be considered. The document most often questioned is Jonathan's letter to the Spartans, because of its abrasive tone in parts: 'Therefore, though we have no need of these things, since we have as encouragement the holy books which are in our hands, we have undertaken to send to renew our brotherhood and friendship with you, so that we may not become estranged from you' (1 Macc. 12.9–10). To the best of our understanding, this was by Hellenistic standards an inappropriate letter, but that does not mean that it was not sent or that it would have seemed any less reasonable to Jonathan than it did to the author of 1 Maccabees. To my knowledge, we have no Jewish documents from the period for comparison. Moreover, the offensive passages act as explanations for actions which might otherwise seem out of character and therefore are more likely to be

additions to the original document. Most of the scholarship concerned with this part of 1 Maccabees addresses the reality behind diplomatic relations between Sparta and Judaea, and therefore seeks to explain Jonathan's motivation, not the author's.²⁷ While Jonathan's motivations must remain elusive, some light can be thrown on those of the author. The letter is filled with themes recurrent in the text and particularly appropriate for this point in the narrative. First and foremost is the piety of the Hasmonaean dynasty as the figure-head of the Jewish nation, and the reward of that religious fervour by Heaven's help in establishing military security. Second, there is the emphasis that this keeping faith with the Jewish tradition is not necessarily in conflict with establishing working relations with other Hellenistic states. Third, the letter indicates to the reader that Judaea has reached a state of peace in which such diplomatic formalities may be observed with many communities, not just those whose political influence is needed. Why use a letter to Sparta, instead of Rome or even another Greek city, to illustrate all this? The answer is probably just that it happened to be a letter to Sparta which the author had available for incorporation, and possibly modification. The other document which is often treated with suspicion is the letter to Demetrius I attached to the first treaty with Rome; I will return to this shortly.

Moving on to the crucial question of why the author made diplomacy with Rome a major theme throughout his account of the dynasty, I begin with the hypothesis that Judas and each of his successors, Jonathan and Simon, sought to affirm their status by sending to the Roman Senate to establish 'friendship and alliance'.

²⁷ M. S. Ginsburg, 'Sparta and Judaea', *C Phil.* 29 (1934), 117–22, argues fairly convincingly for trusting all the documents, including the third-century letter from Arius, but goes too far in assuming an established Jewish community in Sparta. B. Cardauns, 'Juden und Spartaner', *Hermes* 95 (1967), 317–24, esp. 20, argues against authenticity, partly on the basis that no motivation for Jonathan is forthcoming. R. Katzoff, 'Jonathan and Late Sparta', *AJPhil.* 106 (1985), 485–9, is optimistic on the historicity of Jonathan's letter, and reviews past scholarship on possible motivations. W. Wirgin, 'Judas Maccabee's Embassy to Rome and the Jewish–Roman Treaty', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 101 (1969), 15–20, presents a highly creative, but highly implausible, theory for diplomatic motivations concerning both Sparta and Rome based on the Temple in Jerusalem functioning as an international bank. See also O. Curty, 'A propos de la parenté entre Juifs et Spartiates', *Historia* 41 (1992),

In this context, the legality of the Romans' willingness to receive embassies from subjugated peoples and their rebel leaders has been questioned;²⁸ but this approaches the problem from the wrong direction. Rome was not bound by any international law code, and, as the dominant power in the Mediterranean, it often acted as the arbiter of international disputes. It is this last fact that is crucial for understanding the diplomacy in 1 Maccabees. The most common type of dispute brought to Rome was over succession, and as 8.13 clearly states, the Romans were able to make or break kings. In showing the Roman acceptance of the embassies, the author is demonstrating the legitimacy of each ruler. Both Judas and Jonathan are said to have made the overtures when they were at the full height of their power, that is when it would have been most difficult for anyone, even the Romans, to deny their claim to control over Judaea. Simon tried another approach, bribery. He sent an enormous shield made of gold to the Senate to win their favour. This technique was not uncommon; compare Tryphon's gift in Diodorus (33.28a).

In 1 Maccabees the Jews take all their embassies directly to the Senate instead of treating with a commander closer to home.²⁹ The emphasis on the Senate may indicate that the author was aware that it was the responsibility of this assembly to receive foreign embassies (Polyb. 6.13.7). Like other details and the documents which are 'quoted' in the text, it is included perhaps to convince the audience of the authenticity of the treaties.

Although I have stressed the author's motivations for including Rome in his narrative, he obviously could not represent the Maccabean dynasts as seeking Roman approval without undermining the divinely granted autonomy of the Jewish state. Therefore, he was forced to manufacture motivations. So he says that the results Judas sought from this interaction were the elimination of Syrian oppression (8.18). This is a lofty aspiration connected to such a distant

246–8; E. Gruen, 'The Purported Jewish–Spartan Affiliation', in R. W. Wallace and E. M. Harris (eds.), *Transitions to Empire* (1996), 254–69; C. Orrieux, 'La "Parenté" entre Juifs et Spartiates', in R. Lonis (ed.), *L'Etranger dans le monde grec* (1988), 169–91.

²⁸ S. Mandell, 'Was Rome's Early Diplomatic Interaction with the Maccabees Legal?', *Classical Bulletin* 104 (1988), 101–20.

²⁹ Contrast 2 Macc. 4.11.

alliance and indicates a strong faith in Roman power, at least on the part of the author. Moreover, in the narrative sequence it is unconvincing, as the embassy comes after a massive Jewish victory. In fact, Judas might have had more realistic expectations of what could be gained from the Romans; the recorded request of the ambassadors has no mention of the Syrians, and in the reply of the Romans their unusual letter to Demetrius is tacked onto the end of an otherwise typical treaty. The letter has been suspected as an authorial addition.³⁰ This conflict between Judas' stated motivation and the actual request of the ambassadors suggests that the latter may actually derive from a reliable source, which our author hesitated to corrupt. The author follows up this justification near the end of the book when he attributes two causes to Demetrius' decision to acknowledge the authority of Simon: (1) Simon's successful endeavour to strengthen and rebuild Jerusalem, and (2) the fact that Demetrius heard that the Romans considered the Jews friends, allies, and brothers (*ἀδελφοί*; 14.40). In the previous references only the terms 'friends' and 'allies' have been used regarding the Romans. Suggestions of kinship have been reserved for diplomacy with Sparta, where a variety of mythological connections are possible and the text specifically mentions Abraham as a common ancestor. As we saw in the previous chapter, kinship based on myth was a common means of establishing diplomatic relations, but no myth suggests itself here. One is left feeling that the insertion of Rome as a catalyst is unnecessary, perhaps even an authorial addition.

However, the passage itself is not reported in the author's own voice, instead it comes from what he claims to be a transcription of a contemporary monument, bronze tablets erected on pillars on Mount Zion by the people of Israel as a thank offering to Simon and his brothers for their defence and liberation (14.25–45). Given that the author of 1 Maccabees was writing under the Hasmonaean dynasty, it seems most likely that this monument still stood. Could he have retained authorial credibility with his contemporary audience if he had altered the text of this monument? Undoubtedly, no.

³⁰ Part of the argument for this has included understanding *κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους οὕτως ἔστησαν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (8.29) as indicating the true end of the document; see M. Smith, 'Rome and the Maccabean Conversions—Notes on I Macc. 8', in E. Bammel *et al* (eds.), *Donum Gentilicium* (1978), 1–7, esp. 2, n. 1.

So, it seems that in the text of 1 Maccabees we are likely to have an accurate portrayal not only of the authors' desire to use Rome to legitimate the dynasty, but also confirmation that his use of Rome in this way reflects contemporary public rhetoric in Judaea as well.

However, to conclude this discussion on the author of 1 Maccabees' use of Rome in fulfilling his own objectives, I would like to emphasize the degree of authorial choice involved in this presentation. I have already alluded to the striking difference between 1 and 2 Maccabees in this respect, but there is also a passing comment in Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus of much interest.³¹ There is controversy over when and where 2 Maccabees was composed, but it is reasonably clear that it was written within a few decades after 1 Maccabees in either Judaea or Egypt. Instead of a justification for a dynasty, it is purely the glorification of the success of Judas and the restoration of the Temple as demonstrations of divine favour. To this end, it makes much of supernatural events and concludes its narrative with the defeat of Nicanor, thus failing to treat Judas' death or any issue of succession. Obviously, it would defeat the function of the text to add any suggestion of earthly aids or sanctions for Judas' acts. Still, Rome does appear, but not as a catalyst. The first mention is in an aside which explains that John was the father of the Eupolemus who secured relations with Rome (4.11). Such a gloss could be a later addition, but if it is original, it is far more striking that the author of 2 Maccabees knew of Judas' diplomatic enterprises, but did not choose to include them. Two other references to Rome are used to explain that Antiochus' enslavement of the Jews is an attempt to raise the war indemnity he owed the Romans (8.10 and 36); nothing is made of the fact that Rome and the Jews share a common enemy. Oddly, he includes a letter from two Romans, whose identities are uncertain, regarding their endorsement of the terms which the Jews received from Lysias in 164 BC (11.34). If authentic, this is the earliest known direct contact between Rome and Judaea. This letter is the last of four which the author appears to think refer to the same period of negotiations. He provides no discussion of the Roman letter; I assume

³¹ For background information on 2 Maccabees, see J. Goldstein, *II Maccabees* (1983), and Momigliano, 'The Second Book of Maccabees', *C Phil.* 70.2 (1975), 81–8 [= Momigliano, *Sesto contributo*, 567–78].

that this letter was preserved together with the others and that the author of 2 Maccabees decided to include them as a group, not necessarily attaching any specific significance to the Roman letter, which in and of itself does not imply a prominent role for the Romans in these negotiations. Thus at this early stage in Roman intervention in the East, even an author who has no wish to assign significance finds it difficult to exclude the Romans completely, but can relegate them to explanatory passages.

By contrast, Trogus only sees fit to mention this period in the history of Judaea as an example of Rome's overarching power:

It was Xerxes, king of Persia, who first conquered the Jews. Afterwards they, along with the Persians themselves, came under the rule of Alexander the Great and long remained under the sway of the Macedonian empire as a people subject to the throne of Syria. When they rebelled against Demetrius, they sought the friendship of the Romans and were the first of the peoples of the East to accept their independence from the Romans, who found it easy to be lavish with other people's property. (Trogus 36.3.8–9)

It might be tempting to say that 1 Maccabees stands between these two extremes in representing Rome as a contributing factor to the success of the Maccabean Revolt. Yet that would not be entirely accurate. 1 and 2 Maccabees are composed from an internal perspective and Trogus' work from an external. It is nothing particularly new to observe that an internal and external perspective may be radically different, but from the comparison of these three texts two important lessons can be learned. Writers from a similar cultural background, even those who treat some topics alike, do not necessarily view Rome, or represent her actions, in the same way. And a superficial similarity between the narratives of two authors (in that both the author of 1 Maccabees and Trogus represent Rome as a determining factor in the Jewish revolt against Demetrius) need not indicate any deeper harmony of viewpoint. The local chronicle intended for a local audience does not intend to carry the same message as a universal history written in the language of the dominant Mediterranean power.

So far, in most of the cases we have examined, decisions of succession that have been put before the Romans have been directed towards the Senate, but in 63 BC, with Pompey in the East, this begins

to change (Diod. 40.2). Diodorus sets the scene in Damascus. Aristobulus, Hyrcanus, and a delegation of 200 elders all petitioned Pompey concerning the sovereign power in Judaea. The two brothers of the royal household both claimed the throne, but the delegation claimed that when their forefathers revolted,³² they received from the Senate the right to be free and autonomous with their ruler being the High Priest, not a king. Moreover, those currently contending for the throne had only achieved 'kingship' by contravening ancient laws, enslaving the people, employing mercenaries, and committing murder. The senatorial treaty to which this refers seems to be that recorded in 1 Maccabees (8.22–30) and by Josephus (*AJ* 12.417ff.). Pompey set aside the question of succession, but bitterly dressed down Hyrcanus and his party for their misdeeds, especially those against the Romans. Diodorus has him say, 'they deserved some graver and harsher visitation; nevertheless, in the spirit of Rome's traditional clemency, he would, if they were obedient henceforward, grant them pardon' (40.2). This rather strict concept of mercy echoes that found in more general statements discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Diodorus uses this historical incident with the Jews, not to make any particular point about that people's status, but to develop his portrayal of Roman approaches to foreign powers and his characterization of Pompey as a wielder of Roman *imperium*.

The final episode regarding Romano–Judaic relations recorded by the core authors is the fate of Herod's kingdom after his death. The discussion is a typical example of Nicolaus' conception of Roman rule: it was above reproach and above the law or any other conception of justice. All the contenders for the throne and all the subjugated peoples descended on Rome to petition the emperor. The Jews themselves sent a delegation, as they 'thought it best to be subject to Caesar Augustus, but if that were not possible, then at least to the younger brother' (Nic. F136.9). Nicolaus sets them in opposition to the Greek cities formerly under Herod's control, who petition for 'freedom'. Is being subject to Caesar equivalent to freedom? Or do the

³² For what reason Diodorus is saying they revolted is a matter for textual criticism. The transmitted text reads 'temple', the two proposed emendations are 'Demetrius' and 'Syrian'. See F. R. Walton, 'Notes on Diodorus', *AJPhil.* 77 (1956), 274–81 and 408–14, esp. 413–14, for discussion. . . . ἀπεφώνησαν τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν ἀφειστηκότας τοῦ ἱεροῦ [Δημητρίου or Συρίου] πεπρεσβευκέναι πρὸς σύγκλητον . . .

Jews not even think to ask for such a privilege? The request of the Greeks is fulfilled, but neither of the preferences of the Jews is granted. Can we detect cultural prejudice? Or is this the pragmatic thinking we saw in Trogus' account of Pompey's Syrian settlement at the beginning of the chapter, where a weak nation on the edge of the empire is undesirable for the security of the frontiers? This petitioning was not because Herod had not designated an heir; that was not the question, since everyone knew it would be the will of Augustus that would decide who received what benefit (F136.9). Augustus fulfilled those expectations and did not follow strictly the will of Herod. He chopped up Herod's kingdom, giving freedom to the Greek cities and allotting the brothers various titles and territory. Yet even this arrangement was not intended to be permanent; he promised more power to Archelaus if he exhibited the proper behaviour in the future (F136.11). Behind that promise stood a threat.

Above we differentiated between the internal and external perspectives offered by 1 and 2 Maccabees and Trogus' account of Judean events. Nicolaus cannot easily be placed in either category. His direct involvement with Herod's rule and the settlement after his death makes his perspective uniquely personal, but his loyalties are not to a nation, ethnicity, or religious tradition. In his narrative the primary objective is personal justification, if not glorification. As such, he presents a view of Rome which we can confidently interpret as politically advantageous to an ambitious provincial.

Direct Administration

Nicolaus did not find Roman rule necessarily just or logical, and he did not feel a need to represent it as such. In fact, in his surviving fragments the decisions of the bearers of *imperium* are often shown to be subject to personal passions. We find Sulla doling out public land to entertainers because of his personal fondness for the comic arts (F75, cf. Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 33 and 36). Nicolaus offers no apologies for the brutal slaying carried out by Pompey's soldiers against the passive worshippers in the sacking of the Temple in Jerusalem (F98). He readily reports how Agrippa blamed Ilium for an unforeseeable sequence of events which affected his wife Julia while she was

travelling in the region. His punishment crippled the city, a city which was considered to be the mother-city of Rome, until Nicolaus himself pointed out the error of the judgement against her. Augustus himself is so incensed at Herod's taking military action without waiting for Imperial sanction that he refuses to accept any diplomatic overtures at all and listens only to the claims of the Arabs, until Nicolaus rectifies the situation (F136.1). Yet even Nicolaus is not above using the emotive susceptibility of Augustus, and removes Herod from the hot seat by slandering the Arabs. Nicolaus does not question or condemn this trait of Roman rule. It must have seemed very familiar after spending years in the court of Herod, and thus he portrays Roman power as if it were that of an Eastern dynastic monarch.

Nicolaus is perhaps the most radical of the core authors in his understanding and portrayal of Roman rule, but the reality of direct intervention throughout the Mediterranean basin was such that all of our core authors offer some reflection on the type and character of that rule. Not all share Nicolaus' unquestioning approach to the ethics of Roman actions, but most reflect the same sense of inevitability. The first theme to be treated is in line with the expressions of Roman authority just seen in not only Nicolaus, but also Diodorus' passage on Pompey and the Jews. The Roman magisterial system gave nearly unlimited power to the individual commander in his province.³³ This means that even much earlier than the Principate and its consolidation of authority in one figurehead, there are numerous examples of individual Romans exercising indiscriminate power over those living within their jurisdiction. A *provincia* was not just a place, but an arena in which the magistrate was at liberty to take action on behalf of Rome. It could be a problem, such as pirates or the grain supply, an administrative district like Sicily, or a war like that against Mithridates. Likewise, in the ancient texts the magistrates are simply called by their titles, 'praetor', 'consul', etc. The distinction between 'governor' and 'general' is thus a modern interpolation of the primary duties of each office. There was no such distinction in the type of power given to a Roman magistrate.

³³ A. Lintott, *The Constitution of the Roman Republic* (1999), 94–104.

Gubernatorial Authority and Character

The most substantial accounts of provincial governors come from Diodorus, and perhaps not surprisingly from his homeland of Sicily. The Slave Revolts offered numerous opportunities for commentary on Roman rule. In the explanation of the origins of the Second Slave Revolt Diodorus gives us an insight into the relationship between the will of Senate and its implementation by the Roman magistrates. He records a senatorial decree that no citizen of an allied state should be held in slavery in a Roman province, and that the governors should provide for their liberation (36.3.2).³⁴ The objective of this particular decree was to preserve the manpower base in the allied communities which supplied auxiliary troops. However, the direct consequences of this ruling, as presented by Diodorus, are worth considering. Licinius Nerva (104 BC) began to hold hearings and to release slaves held in Sicily.³⁵ In turn, the local nobility gathered to petition him to desist from carrying out this decree. Diodorus speculates that he stopped taking interest in ensuring the release of citizens of allied states from slavery either because of bribery or from a weak will. This led to many petitioners being told to return to their former masters, all of which precipitated a second full-blown slave revolt on the island. Diodorus does not take exception to the Roman policy of reappropriating the property of the provincials, but instead with the ineffectual implementation, which caused hopes of freedom to fester in the slave communities.

The vilification of Licinius Nerva continues throughout the period of revolt. First he is criticized for relying on an escapee from capital punishment who had been living as a brigand to betray the slaves. The ploy is successful, but the incident is presented in derisive terms (36.3.5). At the second uprising, he relied on bad advice and did not recall his disbanded army; this caused delay and rendered his

³⁴ The type of ruling is not unknown in other cases; a parallel is found in Memnon (39.4), where the Senate decides that no Heracleian should be enslaved, thus reversing the work of Cotta.

³⁵ W. Z. Rubinsohn, 'Some Remarks on the Causes and Repercussions of the So-called "Second Slave Revolt" in Sicily', *Athenaeum* 70 (1982), 436–51. Cass. Dio 27.93 gives a very different account, having Nerva's actions motivated by personal desires, not senatorial sanction.

eventual response ineffectual (36.4.1). After the citizens of Morgantina had retained the loyalty of their slaves while under siege by granting them their freedom as a reward for aiding in municipal defence, Nerva rescinded the grants and thereby caused the majority of the slaves from that city to desert to the rebels (36.4.8). A generalizing passage in a Constantinian excerpt well sums up Diodorus' view of this period in Sicily: 'Since no Roman officials were dispensing justice and anarchy prevailed, there was irresponsible licence, and men everywhere were wreaking havoc far and wide' (Diod. 36.11.2). The key is the dependence of the region on Roman magistrates for organization.

The link between Roman rule and law and order is not made by Diodorus alone; Trogus echoes the same idea in the last line of the epitome on Augustus' conquest of Spain; Augustus, 'bringing a wild and barbarous people to a more civilized way of life under the rule of law, gave them a regular provincial administration' (Trog. 44.4.8). Although Diodorus would never have described his home as barbaric, the old Greek civic structures no longer functioned in a way that could impose order on mass criminal behaviour. For Diodorus, that is exactly what the revolts are about, involving not just slaves frustrated because the Senate's will was not carried out, but also the landless free taking advantage of the turmoil to better their position through violence (36.6 and 36.11). This criticism of Roman inaction is not limited to the character of Nerva, but carries over to his successors Lucullus and Servilius as well. Diodorus is contemptuous of Lucullus for not following his success near Scirthaea with an immediate siege of Triocala. It took nine days for him to move his forces into place, and he was in fact worsted. Diodorus can only imagine that this was due to bribery and indolence, and is gratified to report that he was tried and punished by the Romans (36.8.5). The details of his attempt to sabotage his successor seem particularly hostile (36.9.2).³⁶ Servilius' crimes are not detailed, but he likewise is said to have achieved nothing and was condemned by the Romans to exile.

³⁶ Compare Trog. 36.4.10–12 on the struggle in 129 between M'. Aquilius and Perperna for the captive Aristonicus. Plutarch records a tradition of Pompey siding with the Cretan pirates to keep Metellus from gaining credit for their defeat (*Vit. Pomp.* 26).

Just as these failed governors of Sicily had poor counsel, being easily persuaded by those with particular fiscal interests, Diodorus also holds up well-chosen advisers as a primary indication of the 'good governor'. In talking of Lucius Asyllius (= L. Sempronius Asellio, governor of Sicily c.96 BC), he says, 'like Scaevola, he selected the finest of his friends as legate and adviser'. The characters of his counsellors are spelled out in great detail, leaving no doubt as to the appropriate company for a man with provincial *imperium* (37.8.1–3). From Rome he brought Gaius Longus (= C. Sempronius Longus), who is said to have endorsed sober and old-fashioned values. In Syracuse he welcomed a member of the equestrian order named Publius into his inner circle. The description of Publius is far more elaborate. Diodorus assures the reader that it was not only good fortune that elevated Publius, but also his character, principally his piety and his cultured humanity. Both qualities are illustrated through accounts of extensive expenditure, on sacrifices, temple improvements, and dedications, and on benefactions and patronage of learned men. Only one virtue is demonstrated without the aid of great financial outlay: like Gaius Longus, Publius is said to have been a man of sobriety. As proof, Diodorus claims that Publius retained his full faculties until his dying day. It seems significant that greater emphasis is given to the adviser from the province itself—a man with Roman citizenship, but without an automatic share in affairs of state. By contrast with the provincial equites whose greed precipitated the Slave Revolts, this man exploits his personal wealth for the greater good.

Diodorus is of course not the only writer to notice the connection between the quality of the adviser and the success of the governor, as we saw in considerable detail in chapter one. A brief fragment of Nicolaus (F79) hints at the disastrous consequences to a general of trusting the 'wrong type' of foreigner. It attributes the capture and execution of Crassus by the Parthians to his betrayal by Andromachus the Carranian. Nicolaus describes Andromachus as a parasite who wormed his way into Crassus' confidence, so that he could win the tyranny over his fatherland from the Parthians as a reward for the betrayal. In these examples we see more of the cultural context in which the intellectual could achieve political power. The adviser held a position of authority, and the credentials of education could ease the establishment of trust between a foreigner and a dynast.

The previous discussion of Asellio's Sicilian governorship is from a series of fragments in which Diodorus addresses examples of various dates which all seem to derive from a single digression on the behaviour associated with a model governor (37.5–8). Two explicitly discuss Quintus Mucius Scaevola and two others are also assumed to have Scaevola as their subject, based on their common theme and their placement within the Constantinian excerpts. These as well as the other fragments in the digression all have an overtly positive tone, but belie a serious complaint regarding Roman behaviour in the provinces. Each governor is praised most heartily for correcting the errors of his predecessors and controlling the behaviour of other Romans. Scaevola removes corruption from the courts and brings the tax-collectors before a tribunal. He forces them to repay what they had unjustly extracted, and when they had committed murder he tries them on capital charges. He also makes the personal decision to pay his expenses and those of his staff from his own purse. Diodorus is probably implying that others had extracted these sums from the provincials, although a Roman might naturally assume that the alternatives included using the public purse. Scaevola's behaviour is said to have restored (*ἀνεκτήσατο*) the goodwill of the allies towards the Romans and to have amended (*διωρθώσαντο*) the hatred that had arisen against Roman hegemony; only that which has been broken must be restored and amended. One is reminded of an earlier passage where Diodorus says, concerning C. Gracchus, that 'by sacrificing the provinces to the reckless rapacity of the tax-farmers he provoked the subject peoples to well-merited hatred of their rulers' (Diod. 34/5.25).

Provincial injustices which required gubernatorial attention were not limited to issues of taxation. The fragments on Asellio also emphasize the need for restoration of prudent provincial management (Diod. 37.8.1–3). He is said to have found Sicily 'ruined' upon his arrival, and through his devotion to 'redressing public and private wrongs' to have 'restored the island to its former state of generally acclaimed prosperity'. However, the need for this policy of reform is poorly defined. Diodorus hints at sycophancy in the marketplace, and the need for better judicial processes and for the protection of those without guardians (orphans and women without kin). This is not a case of Romans regulating other Romans but the actual

replacement of the functions of local government with the decrees of a foreign magistrate. This dependence on Rome for the management of virtually all civic affairs echoes the earlier statement, quoted in full above, that '...no Roman officials were dispensing justice and anarchy prevailed' (36.11.2). This continued dependence of provinces in general, and Sicily specifically, on Roman magistrates to provide courts of law,³⁷ is illustrated again in Diodorus by Pompey's time on the island (38/9.20). It is said that the province had been without courts for an extended period of time, and therefore Pompey applied himself to settling public disputes and private contracts. His skill and incorruptibility are noted, as is the awe of the Sicilians at his austerity and sobriety. These characteristics are well in line with those of the rest of Diodorus' model governors, and likewise point to a precedent for just the reverse.

While Diodorus allows us to see the effects of Roman governors on Sicily, and a little of other provincial regions, Nicolaus paints with a broader brush, allowing a more generalized understanding of his views on Roman administration. The reality of Roman rule, as Nicolaus saw it, was harsh, but to be expected as it was not out of line with other empires and far better than some. There was a level of Roman authority, mundane and predictable, to which Nicolaus had adapted, as an orator and counsellor to Herod. Roman commanders in the provinces acted as legal judges in disputed cases, keeping down internal conflict by applying external judgement. The man with the highest *imperium* would preside, and his retinue, mostly aristocratic Romans but possibly provincials as well, would advise. Nicolaus allows us to glimpse this system three times: in the case of the Ionian Jews (T4 *et al.*), the case of Antipater (F136.6–7), and the public audience in Carthago Nova held by Julius Caesar (F127.12). In these courts where no specific law necessarily applied, and only the judges' sense of right and wrong was pre-eminent, the skilled orator had a great advantage. Nicolaus, not surprisingly, has only positive comments to make about those affairs where he found success. However, Roman influence was not limited to judgements that they imposed, but could also be seen in the way that their judgements were anticipated. Nicolaus advises Herod that he would not want to be thought

³⁷ P. Garnsey, 'The Criminal Jurisdiction of Governors', *JRS* 58 (1968), 51–9.

of as driven by anger among the Romans, and temporarily the king modifies his behaviour (F136.3). Nicolaus' prosecution of Herod's eldest son, Antipater, is validated by how the prince was loathed in Rome, from the highest to the lowest men (F136.5).

It is perhaps in this discussion of Roman governance in the provinces where we see most clearly some of the authors' emotive and pragmatic responses to Rome. Good and bad behaviour on the part of the Romans has come into high relief. Yet acceptance of Roman authority seems to be the most beneficial asset to a provincial. Criticism is worded in such a way as not to alienate future office holders among the readership, and praise seems to have an even greater didactic intention.

Impact on Provincial Life

The previous examples of provincial administration have centred on the authority of the governor and thus primarily judicial matters. In the final section of this chapter other forms of change in provincial life are explored through the eyes of our core authors. These examples cluster around three themes, military levies, taxation, and landscape. The first is rarely a welcome demand, but equally the historians seem to reserve direct judgement on the matter, allowing their frustration to be expressed through the dilemma of the characters involved in the individual incidents. By contrast, the general loathing of taxation and those employed in its collection is universally demonstrated in the texts. The changing landscape is simply reported as part of the setting for events themselves, not being worth comment, but necessary for the understanding of the historical narrative as the author wishes to communicate it.

Diodorus in his explanation of the origins of the Second Slave Revolt begins with Marius seeking permission to raise a levy among the allied communities so as to meet the threat posed by the migrations of the Cimbri. Diodorus makes a point of highlighting the fact that permission is particularly given to bring troops from overseas. When Marius requests troops from Nicomedes of Bithynia, Diodorus has the king reply that he can not meet the request because of the enslavements by Roman *publicani* (Diod. 36.3.1). No authorial voice is detectable, but Diodorus makes clear that Roman hegemony had a

negative effect on Bithynia. This passage can be set alongside Photius' introductory summary for this book of Diodorus, in which he says that nearly 60,000 allied troops perished in the war against the Cimbri.³⁸ While we could interpret such a reference as simply a statement of the magnitude of the conflict, the specification of non-Roman participants seems to reflect Diodorus' overall sensitivity to the Roman impact on provincial lives.

Memnon, like Diodorus, records an instance in which the allies who were solicited for troops could not meet the demands. It is his own town of Heraclea which is caught in a difficult position. It has treaties with both the Romans and Mithridates, both of which require it to supply troops as needed. However, as Memnon sees the root of the problem, it is not obligation which is the difficulty, but instead the threat of losing their allied status with either party. 'They feared the strength of the Romans and shrank from their common border with Mithridates. So they answered the embassies in this way: when such a war was breaking out, they were scarcely able to protect their own property, let alone furnish anything else to others' (Mem. 26.2). As the plight of those cities caught between the warring parties becomes personal for Memnon, his narrative becomes more apologetic, but he still holds firm to the necessity of pragmatism. Memnon's fears are played out a little later in the narrative when Mithridates' admiral, Archelaus, held two eminent Heracleans hostage until the city agreed to supply five triremes to fight against the Romans. This transgression led in the end to the imposition of tax collectors on the city. Heraclea was, of course, not the only city to have an alliance with both sides in this conflict, and Memnon makes sure to illustrate this for his readership. He highlights how the Parthian king saw no difficulty in replying to Lucullus that he was the friend and ally of the Romans, but also had similar arrangements with Tigranes (38.8).

Trogus seems less conscious of the impact on the provinces and focuses instead on the changing character of the Roman army as more and more foreign peoples are brought to fight on their behalf. Trogus' sensitivity to this issue is not surprising, given that his

³⁸ The term he uses, *ἐπίλεκτοι*, is understood from Polybius 6.26.6 to be the equivalent of the Latin, *socii extraordinarii*.

family's citizenship was won through just such military service. However, he seems to have a particular bias against Asian troops, which is part of the larger literary topos of the soft luxurious nature of that particular region. He asserts that Mithridates 'had little difficulty in defeating Aquillius and Malthinus, whose army was made up of Asian soldiers' (Trog. 38.3.8). This can be contrasted with an earlier passage where Trogus claims that 'the Asian soldiers were no match for the Romans, nor their vessels for the Roman men-of-war' (31.6.9). This comment comes from the end of the war against Antiochus III, when C. Livius Salinator met Hannibal in a sea battle (c.191 BC). This quotation serves as a confirmation of an earlier prediction which Trogas attributes to Hannibal in a speech delivered to Antiochus on how to best the Romans (31.3.7–10 and 31.5.2–9). Within the speech, the dominant theme is that the Romans can only be beaten in Italy. 'The Romans, he explained, could be beaten only by their own arms, and the only way Italy could be conquered was by Italian forces; for they were a different kind of men from other mortals, with a different way of waging war' (31.5.4). Moreover, the two parallel passages on Asian soldiers can also be compared with the pair of passages from Trogus on the acquisition of Asia which were considered in the previous chapter (31.8.9 and 36.4.12). The first again comes from the end of the war with Antiochus and states that the Romans distributed the wealthy territory of Asia among their allies and the second records how Rome inherited the corruption of luxury with the Attalid kingdom. Thus these comments on Asian troops may just be a modified form of the decline topos.

However, the practice of using foreign troops was a growing trend of which the historians were keenly aware. There need not be any particular historiographical theme in mind for them to feel inspired to mention the phenomenon. In 103 BC, when Lucullus was sent out by the Senate to put down the slave revolt in Sicily, his troops are detailed as containing, in addition to Romans and Italians, Bithynians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, Lucanians, as well as unnamed others (Diod. 36.8.1), and in the preparations for the Third Macedonian War, Rome is said to have called for assistance from Masinissa, king of Numidia, and Eumenes, king of Bithynia, as well as other allies (Trog. 33.1.2).

Similarly, taxes were nothing new in most areas over which Rome assumed control, but the mercenary tactics (both literally and figuratively) of the *publicani* in extracting payment from the subject populations left a lasting impression in parts of the historical record.³⁹ Diodorus, from whom the greatest wealth of comments on this subject comes, associates the negative aspects of tax collection, not with Roman governance as a whole, but only with the character-failing of the equestrian class which took out the contracts. One of Diodorus' more vehement denouncements well illustrates the trend: 'By sacrificing the provinces to the reckless rapacity of the tax farmers [C. Gracchus] provoked the subject peoples to well-merited hatred of their rulers' (Diod. 34/5.25). Another passage from Diodorus again points to the unjust burden on the provinces created by the tax farmers; unfortunately questions over possible textual emendations hide the full significance of the sentiments expressed therein. In talking of Scaevola's governorship in Asia (97 bc), he says 'His predecessors in Asia, being in partnership with the publicans, the very men who sat in judgement on public cases at Rome, had filled the province with their acts of lawlessness' (Diod. 37.5.1). If the textual reading behind this translation is correct, the implication would be that equestrian control of the law courts allowed for collusion between greedy tax collectors and dishonest governors, by allowing each to extort from the provinces without fear of prosecution. Given Diodorus' hostility toward the Gracchan court reforms and his anachronistic judgements against the Sicilian governors for their fear of displeasing the equestrians who controlled the courts, the sentiments expressed in this passage are well in keeping with the themes of Diodorus' presentation. The alternative reading proposed by Dindorf translates as follows: 'The previous tax collectors in Asia, being in partnership with the men who sat in judgement at Rome...' This change removes the culpability from corrupt magistrates and places the blame firmly on the equestrian class alone.

In Diodorus' account of Scaevola's justice towards tax collectors, it becomes clear that their crimes did not end with the extraction of

³⁹ E. Badian, *Publicans and Sinners* (1972), 26–47, although he primarily focuses here on the period before 146.

money (37.5.2–3). They are said to have committed murder. One particular man who is described as the chief agent (*ὁ κορυφαῖος οἰκονόμος*) for the *publicani* was prevented through Scaevola's swift action from achieving manumission, and thus was eligible for crucifixion upon being found guilty. Tax collectors were also executed in Heraclea. As already mentioned, Memnon connects the city's supplying of triremes to Mithridates under duress and the imposition of tax by the Romans. When the *publicani* arrive, the people of the city are horrified, equating taxation to loss of liberty. They are well aware of the correct procedure of petitioning the Senate, but are swayed by the arguments of one audacious man 'just to make them disappear'. Memnon gives no overt judgement of this incident (27.6), but its very inclusion in a patriotic text suggests a degree of pride in this rebellious act. Disdain for the tax-farmers was not, however, limited to the provincials. Diodorus shows some awareness of Roman senatorial class prejudices against the mercantile and contractual profiteering of the equestrian class. When explaining why Marius was given little notice by the general whom he served under as a legate, he mentions the rumour that Marius was once a tax-farmer and that he had difficulty reaching lower elected magistracies (34/5.38.1). Perhaps this very Roman prejudice made it acceptable for the provincial elite (including our core authors) to feel free to voice their distain for the imposition of taxes and to vilify the collectors.

Thus far we have seen the Roman impact on the daily lives of people throughout the Mediterranean as reflected in historical writing, not just through aggression, but also through new legal systems, taxation burdens, and troop levies. However, the changes were even more pervasive, affecting the monuments seen each day in cities at great distances from Italy. Examples of these developments have already been seen in chapter one in conjunction with Cicero's desire to leave a public work in Athens, possibly attached to the Academy. Most of the historical texts discussed here are more concerned with actions than topography, but Posidonius seems to have a particular preference for linking events with places and sights. He gives a notable amount of information on the Roman impact on the physical landscape. In the Athenion narrative (F253 E–K = F36 Jac.), the would-be tyrant climbs the Praetor's rostrum in the Athenian agora, a permanent landmark of Roman rule. This sophist usurps the seat of the

Roman governor in the hope of gaining autocratic power. The next scene has Athenion in the theatre on the stage: in this vivid juxtaposition Posidonius reveals Athenion to be a charlatan as he revels in demagogic control, and contrasts Roman administration, as symbolized by the rostrum, with the democratic institutions of Athens, as represented by the traditional meeting place of the *ekklesia* during this period, the Theatre of Dionysus. The other examples of Roman landmarks abroad are not preserved with such carefully constructed symbolism, but are equally significant. The Athenion passage ends with the inscription erected by the Roman commander for those who fell fighting the rebellious Athenians on Delos. He also records a dedication to Marcellus, including another inscription in his text. This time the location is on Rhodes, in the temple of Athena at Lindos, making the significance that much stronger as this was Posidonius' adopted home. Moreover, the deeds recorded are not local, but the consul's successes in Sicily and in the west. Rome's history so influences the wider world that it merits visual reminders in unconnected places. These visual landmarks would have been an ordinary individual's closest contact with Roman *imperium*.

At the end of the previous chapter I drew attention to two prominent themes which the core authors seemed to be impressing upon their audience: first, the inevitability of Roman domination, and second, the critical need to find a balance between the desires of the provincials and those at Rome. In this chapter it is the second of these themes which has taken centre stage. Again, the texts have been directed to an audience comprising of both the Roman and non-Roman elite. To the bearers of *imperium* there has been a clear and consistent message regarding the behaviour which will inspire praise and glory for both a general and a governor. Moderation, that key Roman virtue, is praised by these non-Roman historians as the avenue to praise and honour. Deceit, greed, and brutality lead only to condemnation by one's peers at Rome, loathing by those under one's command, and even repugnance in the eyes of posterity, as it is embodied in the annals of historical writing itself. While such moral exhortation might strike the modern reader as rather trite and without actual political significance, we must remember the

importance placed upon *gloria* and *dignitas* among the Roman elite.⁴⁰ Guidelines for protecting and building one's social standing could have had a significant impact on the men vying for power during a time of intense political rivalry and turmoil. The message to provincials is less idealized. The pragmatic proverb, 'be careful what you ask for, you just might get it', could serve as the moral of many of the narratives regarding diplomatic exchanges between Rome and dependent states. If one solicited the Senate or a commander to resolve a dispute regarding local government, the most likely answer was one which served Rome's objectives, not local concerns.

⁴⁰ This is perhaps best seen in the writings of Cicero; F. A. Sullivan, 'Cicero and Gloria', *TAPA* 72 (1941), 382–91, provides a thorough reconstruction of Cicero's ideas regarding this societal ideal. Again drawing particularly from Cicero, J. P. V. D. Balsdon has looked at the concept of *dignitas*, particularly in relation to *auctoritas*, suggesting the latter is the implementation of the former, see his article 'Auctoritas, Dignitas, Otium', *CQ* 10 (1960), 41–50, esp. 44–6.

Enemies of Rome? The Symbolic Alternatives

The lack of a successful or even possible rival for Roman authority over the course of this period and the lifespans of all the core authors might be linked to a sense of inevitability regarding the rise of Rome. This concept of predestination is seen in two of the ‘omens’ recorded by Trogus. He records how in the same year that Philip first submitted to Rome, a new island emerged from the sea between Thera and Therasia, and disastrous earthquakes shook Asia, swallowing some cities whole. ‘The prodigy evoked universal alarm and the soothsayers predicted that the rising empire of Rome would devour the old empire of Greece and Macedonia’ (Trog. 30.4.4). Similarly, when Syria was rocked by an earthquake which killed 170,000 and destroyed many cities, the soothsayers declared there would be a change in regime. The change in regime seems to be linked to Lucullus’ defeat of Tigranes and summoning of Antiochus (XIII Asiaticus). It is difficult to tell if Trogus also means to include in the fulfilment of the oracle Pompey’s removal of Antiochus and transformation of the kingdom to a province (40.2). However, in both cases Trogus chooses to allow the characters in the history to provide their interpretation of both natural phenomena instead of interpreting them directly for his readers; this fits well with his overarching scepticism regarding the supernatural.

Does the pervasive attitude amongst the core authors of the inevitability of Roman supremacy preclude any suggestion of the possibility of viable alternatives to that supremacy in their historical texts? All the historians develop to a certain degree their characterizations of those peoples who opposed Rome, and the nature of the documented

objections to her rule. In contrast to the previous chapters where the characterizations have been representative of the authors' own opinions, these comments have been placed into the mouths or minds of hostile peoples. Although the overwhelmingly negative and emotive quality of many of these passages might tempt one to see the passions as a reflection of some part of the author's own experience, judgement must be reserved until adequate analysis has been conducted on the author's expressed opinions on the speakers themselves, and those in similar positions. The types of enemies which inspire elaborate discussion in the core authors are divided between Eastern kings and 'barbarians'. Obviously these categories bear a relationship to the actual types of military adversaries faced by the Romans during this period, but each type also connects with a whole host of historiographical stereotypes and patterns. Not all or even most of the adversaries faced by Rome are thoroughly vilified in the histories, but none are presented as a viable or desirable alternative. One must remember that when a historian glorifies an enemy of Rome, it does not necessarily reflect his own 'anti-Roman' tendencies. Just as decline is necessary to justify Augustus' re-founding of the republic, so worthy adversaries are a prerequisite for a glorious victory. A worthy adversary can be either a 'great evil' or an 'honourable rival'.

The Criticism

As so often in this project, one of the core authors provides the bulk of the examples for a particular section and the others offer sporadic parallels to confirm or broaden our understanding of the relevant themes. Here it is Trogus who leads the way. This might seem slightly surprising, given that Justin tells us he was very critical of traditional historians who composed and included speeches in their histories: 'Pompeius Trogus presented it [Mithridates' speech against the Romans] in indirect discourse, since he was critical of Livy and Sallust for having transgressed the proper bounds of history by inserting into their work speeches in direct discourse, but in their own style' (Trog. 38.3.11).¹ The role of speeches in history was much debated during

¹ *Quam orationem dignam duxi, cuius exemplum brevitati huius operis insererem; quam obliquam Pompeius Trogus exposuit, quoniam in Livio et in Sallustio reprehendit,*

this period: compare Diodorus' comments that speeches should not be allowed to interrupt or dominate the narrative (20.1). Nevertheless, speeches remain pervasive within the historical genre in both the Greek and Latin traditions, usually allowing the historian to present the reasoning or thought behind an action or deed. Thus the following examples show how the core authors conceived of the motivations behind opposition and hostility towards Rome.

An Embarrassing Past

Within the traditions of ancient historiography polemic includes not only an outlining of relevant errors, but also a sweeping denunciation of character. This second feature allows the critic to argue for a pattern of behaviour which is beyond correction, even innate. Three primary elements dominate the defilement of the Roman identity: the lowly and undesirable nature of their foundations and early history, their weakness as evinced by past defeats, and their irrational loathing of kings.

Trogus uses references to Rome's mythical origins both in the Aetolians' response to a Roman order to leave the Acarnanians alone (28.2) and in the speech which Mithridates gives to rouse his allies before engaging the Romans in battle (38.6). In the first, the events of the mythical past are not put in such terms but treated by allusion as historical reality, by which it is possible to judge the character of the Roman people. Three events are recalled, but only two of them are readily identifiable. The need to use 'state terrorism' to seize wives is a clear reference to the Rape of the Sabine Women, just as the note on the blood of fratricide on the walls of the city can only mean the legend of Romulus and Remus. However, the sentence which calls the Romans 'mere shepherds occupying the land purloined from its rightful owners' is obscure. Is this alluding to the pastoral origins of the twins? Like the Aetolians' contrast of their own

quod contiones directas pro sua oratione operi suo inserendo historiae modum excesserint. Yardley also offers another alternative translation of the last portion of this passage: 'instead of using their own words'. The correct interpretation of Trogus' criticism of earlier Latin historians is debatable, but I would propose that he intends the use of indirect speech in his histories to act as an indication to his audience that the words are of his own construction, not a verbatim report.

successes against the Gauls with the Romans' failure, so too is this further characterization of lowly stature contrasted with the reputation of the speakers. However, instead of relying on mythical examples, the Aetolians discuss their own bravery in the face of Philip and Alexander. Likewise, the Mithridatic speech also treats legendary history as fact:

They themselves had had kings who were such that even their names made them blush: shepherds from the Aborigines, soothsayers from the Sabines, exiles from Corinth, slaves from Etruria, captured or bred at home, or—the most distinguished name of them all—the Superbi. By their own account their founders were suckled at a she-wolf's teats! That is why their entire population had the temperament of wolves, with an insatiable thirst for blood and a ravenous hunger for power and riches. (Trog. 38.6.7–8)

Mithridates also uses his own accomplishments to contrast himself with the mythical character of the Romans. Trogus has him give credit to a rather dubious version of his family heritage, tracing his lineage to Cyrus and Darius on his father's side and to Alexander and Seleucus Nicator on his mother's (38.7.1–5).

Moving on to references to Rome's past defeats, the same two speeches continue to offer examples and internal parallels. Trogus has Mithridates begin his argument that the Romans can be overcome (38.4.4–8) with references to his most recent successes routing Aquilius in Bithynia and Malthinus in Cappadocia. He goes on to point out the success of others, going beyond veracity in his statements: first Pyrrhus who defeated the Romans in three battles with just 5,000 soldiers, then Hannibal who held Italy for 16 years and was finally defeated by internal conflict rather than by the prowess of the Romans, and finally the Gauls who captured all but one hilltop of Rome and forced the Romans to pay ransom. Trogus has selected for Mithridates' exempla those historical enemies who threatened Rome in Italy, not elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Likewise, his Aetolian speech (28.2) focuses on the Gauls and the Carthaginians. Trogus has the Aetolians suggest that the Romans should deal with these threats before coming east. Moreover, they brag of the Greek success against the Gauls where Rome had suffered disaster.

Obviously, weakness is a desirable characteristic in an adversary, but in many ways these difficulties contradict the predominant

theme of the speeches, which is that Rome presents a threat to the sovereignty of other nations. This can be seen particularly in references to Roman ambition and hatred of kings. In Trogus' history, when Demetrius of Pharos cajoles Philip V of Macedon into hostile relations with Rome (c.219 BC, 29.2), he uses just such arguments.² The theme of the speech is how the Romans plan to dominate the whole world and are making war against all kings so as to realize their desire. He blames them for initiating the war with the Carthaginians and Hannibal because of their desire for Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and Africa. He says their attack against Hannibal was simply because he was a monarch on their borders. He warns Philip that they will come against him next. The Mithridatic speech also alludes to the indiscriminate and unjust loathing and ambition of the Romans. The extended section of the speech addressing this theme begins: 'for what the Romans struck out at was not the wrongdoing of kings but rather their strength and their majesty' (Trog. 38.6.1). The bulk of the discussion is then given over to various injustices perpetrated by the Romans against their regal allies, focusing on his own ancestors, the Attalid house, and the descendants of Masinissa. The dominant theme is that the Romans did not remember the benefits derived from these two royal households and acted harshly towards the sons of their allies. This catalogue concludes with speculation as to the origin of this prejudice, which then links back to the embarrassing 'kings of Rome' quoted above.

Present Defects

Like the theme of past defeats, the strong emphasis in the anti-Roman speeches on contemporary difficulties faced by the Romans is also part of presenting them as weak enough to overcome. Thus the timeliness of attack becomes linked more with strategic advantage than with the need to retaliate against any particular Roman aggression. Trogus constructs for Mithridates an argument as to the benefit

² This particular speech is a direct echo of that which Polybius attributes to Agelaus of Naupactus (5.104). The premise is that the winners of the Hannibalic War would surely turn their attention eastward, and thus it is necessary for Greece and Macedon to present a unified front.

of swift action based on four aspects of contemporary circumstances (38.4.9–16). Firstly, his alliance with the Galatians: the king makes much of the historic fear of the Gauls among the Romans, and explains how those who live in Asia are all the more fearsome because of the hardiness gained on their trek across the Balkans.³ Similarly, in the speech of Athenion, the tyrant of Athens, from the Posidonian fragments, emphasis is also put on the benefit of alliances with historic and present enemies of Rome: ‘For he [Mithridates] is receiving embassies not only from the Italian nations, but from the Carthaginians too, demanding alliances for the destruction of Rome’ (Athen. 5.213C = Pos. F253 E-K = F36 Jac.).⁴ The next three points in Trogus’ speech of Mithridates all focus on physical, instead of psychological, threats facing Rome—the Social War, civil unrest, and the attacks of the Cimbri. It is of little concern that this conflates the events of several decades. Just as with historical inaccuracies or twisted mythologies, it is the impact of the statements which is significant, not their veracity. Interestingly, however, in Memnon’s history there is a suggestion that Mithridates did in fact take advantage of the conflict between Sulla and Marius in his timing of his invasion of Bithynia (22.6).⁵

While all of the discussion so far has covered reasons for opposing Rome, none have been particularly ‘rational’ or based on specific contemporary complaints regarding the nature of Roman rule. Examples of such reasons are present, but they are more rhetorically subdued than the previous polemic. One might suggest that the historians preferred to characterize the attacks on Rome as irrational and opportunistic, instead of based on legitimate grievances. In Posidonius’ speech of Athenion, the complaints against Rome involve the accusation that the Senate caused a halt in normal civic life

³ To this we might compare Diodorus’ connection between the Gallic sack of Rome and the defeat of Roman armies by the Galatians (5.32.5).

⁴ For a discussion on how to reconcile this comment with the historical reality of Rome’s destruction of Carthage some sixty years before, see C. Nicolet, ‘Mithridate et les “ambassadeurs de Carthage”’, in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire offerts à André Piganiol* (1966), 807–14.

⁵ Cf. App. *Mith.* 58, in which Sulla accuses Mithridates of taking advantage of the Italian revolt to attach Ariobarzanes, Nicomedes, Galatia, Paphlagonia, and the province of Asia.

in Athens through the delay in some judgement regarding local magistracies:

Don't put up with the anarchy which the Roman Senate has deliberately prolonged for us until it makes a decision as to how we must be governed. And let us not stand idle while our sacred places are locked, the gymnasia squalid through disuse. The theatre without an assembly, and the courts without voice, and the Pnyx, hallowed by the oracles of the gods, taken away from the Athenian people. And let us not stand idle, Athenian people, while the sacred voice of Iacchus is silent, and the holy shrine of the two goddesses closed, and the schools of the philosophers without a voice. (Athen. 5.213D = Pos. F253 E-K = F36 Jac.)

The historical reality behind these complaints is not clearly understood,⁶ but given the overall negative characterization it would not be surprising if Posidonius had intended this to be interpreted as an exaggeration. It is difficult to imagine a situation where all of the civic institutions mentioned in Athenion's speech ground to a halt while the city was waiting for a single senatorial decision. The complaints might also be intended to demonstrate Athenion's hypocrisy, as his subsequent rule over the city was characterized by such harsh changes to daily life as dusk-to-dawn curfews and many persecutions (Athen. 5.214A–D = Pos. F253 E-K = F36 Jac.). Moreover, the complaint does not concern any particular unjust or malicious action of the Romans, but is instead simply a reflection of Athenian resentment of dependence on a foreign state, a situation which was not likely to change with the city's defection to Mithridates.

Trogus' version of Mithridates' accusations against the crimes of the Romans in Asia is in line with the acts of corrupt governors condemned by the historians, as detailed in the previous chapter: 'So impatiently was Asia awaiting him that she was even calling upon him to come—such hatred for the Romans had been hammered into its peoples by the rapacity of the proconsuls, the public auctioning of property by the tax-gatherers, and the fraudulence of their litigation' (Trog. 38.7.8). However, Mithridates' own complaints against the Romans as reconstructed by Trogus, while perhaps legitimate, inspire

⁶ E. Badian, 'Rome, Athens and Mithridates', in D. M. Pippidi (ed.), *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien* (1976), 501–21.

little commiseration (38.5.1–6.2). The Pontic king outlines his justifications for attacking the Romans as follows: the specific misdeeds against himself include their denial of his claim to Great Phrygia, which they themselves had given to his father, and which had also been given as a dowry to his great-grandfather by Seleucus Callinicus; their order that he leave Paphlagonia, which had come to his father through inheritance; and their demand that he relinquish Cappadocia, which he had acquired by force ‘in conformity with international convention’ (*quam iure gentium victor occupaverat*). On this last point he highlights the hypocrisy of the Romans, who had themselves gained so much territory through military exploits.

Of course in the previous chapter we have seen other types of complaints against the Romans, particularly in reaction to the farming of taxes and corrupt behaviour by governors (cf. Diod. 34/5.25 and 34/5.33.5–6), but these are not given as the reasoning behind any major conflict or revolt. The closest possible example of violent provincial rebellion in the surviving fragments of the core authors is a very isolated incident: ‘Hadrianus, the propraetor in command at Utica, was burnt alive by the Uticans. The deed, terrible though it was, occasioned no denunciations because of the wickedness of the victim’ (Diod. 38/9.11).⁷ This is a particularly interesting passage, because of the authorial report of the drastic action as excusable because of the Roman governor’s crimes. For comparison one might consider the murder in Heraclea of the Roman tax collectors which is reported in almost boastful tones by Memnon (27.6). However, unlike these two passages where the force of the authorial voice is clear, none of the denunciations from the speeches of Roman adversaries can be taken as direct evidence of the historian’s own perspective. Indeed, to recover the proper force of these speeches within the histories as a whole it is necessary to explore the characterization of the speakers and those associated with them. Common features in all the speeches suggest that the rhetoric therein was typical of that used in the period to vilify Roman authority, but few of the criticisms have concrete form or would actually threaten to undermine Rome’s power base. This in itself warns against reading such polemic as part of a historian’s attempt to denounce Rome.

⁷ C. Fabius Hadrianus was governor of Asia 84–82 bc.

Eastern Kings

In looking at the characterization of Rome's enemies, the dominant question is still how the historians formulate their conception of Rome as the new ruling power in the Mediterranean. Thus although we are no longer looking at passages that necessarily discuss Rome directly, our objective is to discover how the presentation of other competing powers may reflect the authors' attitudes to Rome. Often the authors choose to make the comparison explicit and it is these instances which act as guideposts for our inquiries into the character development of those kings who are not directly brought into comparison, but to whom there seem to be implicit contrast or parallels.

Latent in these examples of kings (and in those in the next section on barbarians) is a value system which approves of upright behaviour. The standards of conduct applied to the Romans in the past two chapters, but especially in the section dedicated to the topic in chapter four, are very similar to the general characteristics used to typify a good ruler in the following sections. The following passage from Nicolaus' autobiography could easily be taken to represent nearly all the authors' ideal standards:

[Nicolaus] proved that he was *above money* [χρημάτων μὲν ὦν κρείττων], and instead sought after the highest standard of honour, and he showed himself never to have done anything improper for the sake of money. What would perhaps be surprising to some is that if he disdained anything at all, he disdained pleasure, especially as he often kept company with kings and commanders; for he was an *austere* [αὐστηρὸς] man by nature and opposed indulgence, thinking of those who had a weakness for enjoyment as he would think of those enslaved, he being one who praised both *self-sufficiency and simplicity* [αὐταρκειᾶς ἀεὶ καὶ ἀπλότητος]; however, he was still *munificent* [μεγαλοπρεπής] in those situations where it was necessary to shine—he was not stingy—lest he receive a reputation for miserly tendencies. In fact, if it was ever necessary, he was *most untiring of all at patient endurance in labour* [πάντων ἀοκνότατος], not only in his youth, but also in old age; and where danger struck from enemies or pirates or through disease or storm at sea or in some other way, he was indeed so *very stout of heart* [σφόδρα εὐψυχος ἦν], as always to provide courage to others, as many companions as shared the danger with him; indeed he was *so steadfast for justice and above flattery* [τὸ δίκαιον ἀκλιγῆς οὕτω καὶ ἀθώπρευτος] as to bear the threats of

certain rulers when he acted as a judge for the sake of not transgressing his principles. (Nic. F137.1–2)

Throughout this passage Nicolaus reports the reactions of observers so as to validate his code of conduct and to emphasize its exemplary nature. First, there is surprise that the companion of rulers could exercise such restraint. The implication seems to be that courts were the common locale of the self-indulgent. Then there is the judgement passed on others by the subject: self-control distinguishes those worthy of praise from the enslaved. Generosity is performed to preserve good repute. His courage was such as to inspire, and those who tried to tempt him met with strong resolve, even if they were in positions of political power. The interaction between values and the community is made clear. Each virtue is defined by its role in the relationship between the individual and society. In a moral code thus conceived it becomes apparent why the historians and their peers would have such a great concern for the character of their rulers. In the following examples we shall see repeatedly how the actions of an individual ruler have repercussions throughout society.

The Pot-Bellied Parricide

Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, called Physcon, ‘The Pot-Bellied’, was the younger brother of Ptolemy VI Philometor. He first came to royal power as co-ruler with his brother in 170 BC (Trog. 34.2.8), at which time he was no more than twelve. His relationship with his brother was not harmonious, which led first to Philometor’s expulsion in 164, and then with Roman intervention to his re-establishment in Alexandria in 163, with Physcon taking the throne in Cyrene. Only with Philometor’s death in 145 did Physcon take control of Egypt (Trog. 38.8.2). However, his familial difficulties were not over. To retain sole power he eliminated his nephew, Ptolemy VII Neos Philopater (Trog. 38.8.3–4). Civil war (132–130) erupted over his choice in wives, first taking his brother’s widow, his own sister, Cleopatra II, and then her daughter, Cleopatra III, his niece. From 124 he officially co-ruled with both Cleopatras until his death in 116.

Physcon may seem to make an odd starting point for a discussion of Hellenistic monarchs in a position of hostility to Rome. The most

reliable of our historical records support the conclusion that the Romans in fact endorsed his rule and he himself relied on their support to preserve and perpetuate his control.⁸ However, traces of this are scarce in the reports of the core authors; the only allusion is in Trogus—a reminder that the joint rule of Philometor and Physcon was confirmed and defended by the Senate when they approached Rome for assistance in the face of a threat from Antiochus IV (34.3.8). In the historiographical tradition Physcon is vilified using all the *topoi* and themes seen in portrayals of the kingly enemies of Rome, and within these literary constructions he is specifically contrasted with the Romans and their behaviour. The Romans are represented as condemning his lifestyle. Thus although he is not an adversary of the Romans on the battlefield, the historians have chosen to use him as a symbolic alternative to Roman rule. He becomes part of the answer to the hypothetical question: if not the Romans, then who might rule? The historians present him as a symbol of luxurious living and cruelty, as well as of the disastrous consequences of both. He becomes the archetypal corrupt Eastern king, unfit to rule, destroyed mentally and physically by power and sumptuousness.

The characterization is heightened by a stark contrast with the Roman ambassadors who visit his kingdom. Thus the Romans, and especially Scipio Aemilianus, appear as saints and saviours when compared to this Ptolemy. Diodorus, Trogus and Posidonius all elaborate on the development of Physcon's character and the comparison with Scipio.

Diodorus accuses Physcon of lawlessness, in particular of executing people for plotting against him and driving others into exile on trumped-up charges so as to confiscate their property (33.6–6a); this is said to have inspired the wrath of the populace. His brutality and the loathing of him by his subjects are recurrent themes. Later in the same book Diodorus makes a point of comparing public sentiment towards him with that towards his brother Philometor, who was said to be the epitome of equity, as Physcon was the archetypal

⁸ G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (2001), chap. 7; A. Lampela, *Rome and the Ptolemies of Egypt* (1998), chaps. 5–6; and in particular the published will of Physcon, as king of Cyrene in 155 BC, leaving his kingdom in the event of his death to the Romans (*SEG* ix, 7 = Sherk, *Augustus* no. 31).

bloodthirsty brute (33.12). Trogus has the younger Ptolemy's return to Alexandria from Cyrene marked by the butchery of the supporters of his nephew's bid for the throne (38.8.3). The narrative becomes very vivid, even gruesome, in the description of the next steps in Ptolemy's ascension to the throne. 'As for the boy himself, on the day of the wedding at which the king was taking his mother in marriage, Ptolemy killed him in his mother's arms amidst the arrangements for the banquet and the rites of marriage, and entered his sister's bed still dripping with the gore of her son' (Trog. 38.8.4). The murder is carried out by the king himself, thus allowing none of the blame for the political act to be shifted away from Physcon. Trogus' account continues with the violence also offered to his subjects, the very men who had invited him to rule, allowing foreign troops to slaughter indiscriminately (38.8.5). The atrocities were such that the citizens fled the country, as exiles in fear for their lives (38.8.6). Even the new immigrant population learned to loathe him (38.8.11).

While both Diodorus and Trogus discuss in general terms the abuses against citizens, the impassioned and symbolic narratives are reserved for violence within the family. We have already begun to see this in Trogus' account of the nephew-slaying; Diodorus also engages in similar pathetic drama. One of his fragments records Ptolemy's hunger for blood during the ceremonies in honour of the birth of his first-born son by Cleopatra II (33.13). On this occasion he is said to have executed the Cyrenaeans who accompanied his return to Egypt because of their frank language regarding his concubine, Irenē. Likewise, when Physcon wished to punish his sister-wife for her estrangement from him, he murdered their son, Memphites, and sent the mutilated body in a chest to the boy's mother during her birthday festivities (34/5.14). This episode is compared to the story of Medea. The tale of the 'foreign witch' is an interesting choice: not only is Medea not Greek, but her femininity is often linked to her taste for infanticide.⁹ The parallel highlights various aspects of Diodorus' general characterization of Physcon. As will be seen again at the end of this chapter in the characterization of Diēgylis'

⁹ Cf. Cic. *de imp. Pomp.* 22 for a comparison of Mithridates with Medea. For a range of approaches to this myth, see J. J. Clauss and S. I. Johnston (eds.), *Medea: Essays on Medea in Myth, Literature, Philosophy, and Art* (1997), particularly Johnston's introduction (3–17) and F. Graf's 'Medea, the Enchantress from Afar' (21–43).

son, mythological parallels can be used to highlight particularly heinous behaviour, especially that which contravenes Hellenic morality. While Diodorus keeps the motivations for the parricides personal, Trogus drags family turmoil into the political sphere. He also records the murder, mutilation, and presentation of the son on the mother's birthday (38.8.13). However, he presents the motivation as coming from Ptolemy's belief that the desecrations of his statues by the general public were an act of favouritism directed towards his sister-wife, and it seems that the murder was supposed to dissuade her from becoming his political rival. Moreover, the grief and revulsion was not felt by the queen alone but by the entire city; the leading citizens paraded the corpse before the people to show them what to expect from their king (38.8.14–15).

As Diodorus' narrative progresses in the fragments one can glimpse a changing form of vilification. The rash violence is still present, but it becomes subsumed by Physcon's physical deformity through his obesity, his shameful pleasures, and other trappings of destructive *luxuria* (33.22–3). It is this aspect of Physcon's character which the Romans bring into sharp focus. Diodorus has them share the authorial disdain for Ptolemy's lifestyle, saying, 'the Roman envoys were men of superior virtue, and since their normal diet was limited to a few dishes, and only such as were conducive to health, they were scornful of his extravagance as detrimental to both body and mind' (Diod. 33.28b.2). Diodorus says even the Egyptians loathed him for his childish (*παιδαριώδης*) behaviour and effeminate (*γυναικῶδες*) form; this latter characteristic Diodorus attributes to his self-indulgent living (33.23). To explain how Physcon managed to preserve his kingdom in such a condition, Diodorus gives credit to his general, Hierax. He is forced to deal with the masses and pay the troops out of his own purse, and is described as having an extraordinary talent in warfare and being particularly open-hearted (Diod. 33.22).

This relatively sympathetic treatment of Hierax by Diodorus, in which he is used as a contrasting character to the king himself, is in stark contrast with the surviving Posidonian fragment on this man (F56 E-K = F4 Jac.).¹⁰ The Posidonian Hierax is described as a

¹⁰ Kidd, *Comm.*, 289 and Walton in the Loeb edition of Diodorus (vol. xii, 43 n. 1) both express doubts as to whether these two men are indeed the same. Another

former flute accompanist for burlesque shows, who rose to power in parasitic fashion first under Ptolemy Philometor and then under Physcon. He died as he lived, executed on the whim of the king. This may also be another example of Posidonius' negative characterization of Physcon, emphasizing his brutality even towards close associates.

Trogus takes a slightly different approach to reflecting Physcon's character in his physical form. He exchanges the feminine for the bestial, and focuses on the deformities of nature as well as those brought on by personal action.

He had an ugly face, and was short in stature; and he had a distended belly more like an animal's (*beluae*) than a man's. The repulsiveness of his appearance was heightened by his dress, which was exceedingly fine-spun to the point of transparency, just as if he had some motivation for putting on display what a decent man should have made every effort to conceal. (Trog. 38.8.9–10)

While these external features made him a ludicrous figure to observers, especially the Romans, Trogus does not suggest that it was an impediment to the performance of his duties as king. Although Diodorus makes comparisons between Physcon and his elder brother Philometor which are more favourable to the latter, in Trogus it is the elder Ptolemy VI who suffers from debilitating obesity: '... extremely lethargic and so enfeebled by his daily excesses that he not only neglected the duties of the crown, but, because of his obesity, lacked even normal human feelings (*verum etiam sensu hominis nimia sagina careret*)' (Trog. 34.2.7). Has Trogus, or even Justin, confused the two brothers? Is it a family trait? Or one associated with Eastern monarchs? Whichever interpretation is preferred, the passage provides further support for the tradition labelling obesity as a *cause* of inability to act appropriately, even leading to a loss of humanity. The prevalence of this attitude is also confirmed by a Posidonian fragment regarding Physcon. 'Because of luxurious living, his body had been destroyed by fat and a vast belly that it would have been difficult to get your arms round; over this belly he put on an

homonymous man appears in Diodorus 32.9c and 33.3 as an adviser to Alexander Balas; he too may be identical to one or both of these men, since Balas was put forward as a pretender to the Syrian throne by Physcon.

ankle-length tunic with sleeves down to the wrists. He would never go out on foot, unless because of Scipio' (Pos. F58 E-K = F7 Jac.). Here the fat has destroyed the body and inhibited the very ability to walk, and again the obesity itself is a by-product of luxury.

Further comparative material is available for these authors' views on obesity. The association with ineffectual leadership can be seen in the Diodoran fragment on M. Aemilius Lepidus Porcina (cos. 137), which attributes his failure in war to his bulk and lack of agility from his 'great rolls of flesh' (33.27). Even closer to the discussion at hand, Posidonius gives the following account of Physcon's son, Alexander: 'The ruler of Egypt, hated by the mob, but fawned on by his entourage, lived in great luxury, not even able to relieve himself unless supported on either side by a couple of men. But at drinking parties he would leap down from a lofty couch barefoot into the dances and perform them more energetically than the experts' (Pos. F77 E-K = F26 Jac.). A better understanding of Diodorus' opposition to a life of luxury can be seen in the praise he offers for an equestrian of Syracuse. Publius is said to be a man of sobriety and, as proof, Diodorus claims that he retained his full faculties until his dying day (37.8.2), the underlying presumption being that an indulgent lifestyle produces impairments of physical and mental ability. In a world where autocrats remained in power until their death, the long-term health of the monarch was inextricably linked to the wellbeing of the state. We shall see further characterizations of luxury in the next section on despotism.

Notably, Posidonius, like Trogus, also focuses on the garments in which the king is robed. At first their statements on his robes seem to be at odds. Trogus focuses on the quality of the fabric, which is such as to be transparent, showing what ought to be hidden, while Posidonius describes a full covering of cloth down to ankles and wrists. Yet harmony can be found if another passage is brought in for comparison. In his account of the Parthians, Trogus reports that 'once they had their own style of clothing, but with the coming of prosperity their dress became transparent and loose, like that of the Medes' (Trog. 41.2.4). This serves as a reminder of the high cost of fabric production in the ancient world. To weave transparent cloth was an incredible outlay of (wo)man-hours, and to use more cloth than necessary was extravagance. Both Trogus and Posidonius

point to useless luxury and waste in their descriptions of Physcon's clothing. It is also possible that these authors are using luxurious clothing as an aspect of effeminate characterization,¹¹ furthering the theme seen in Diodorus.¹²

Moving on to Physcon's relationship with Rome, both historically and historiographically, the Roman embassy led by Scipio Aemilianus has attracted much scholarly attention as a landmark event in Rome's relationship with the Hellenistic East.¹³ It may well have had

¹¹ For clothing as a means of presenting an effeminate ruler, compare Trogus 1.3.2 and Diod. 2.23 on Sardanapallus.

¹² Given the consistency of the historiographical presentation of Physcon so far examined, it is surprising to find a fragment perhaps suggesting that he attempted to reform his ways (Diodorus 34/5.20); it is said that 'the elder Ptolemy', after having secured the capture of Marsyas, let him go, as he wanted to improve his standing with the populace through kindness. Scholarship is divided on whether this can possibly refer to Physcon, who is usually known as the 'younger' Ptolemy. (For an example of the contemporary use of this epithet, see *SEG* ix, 7 (= Sherk, *Augustus*, no. 31), l. 5, *ὁ νεώτερος*) The placement of the fragment in the Constantinian collection, and the date thus implied, suggests that it must be him, but some have wanted to move the date forward 15 years or more to have it refer to Ptolemy IX Philometor Soter II. F. R. Walton, 'Notes on Diodorus', *AJPhil.* 77 (1956), 274–81 and 408–14, esp. 409–412.

¹³ D. Knibbe, 'Die Gesandtschaftsreise des jüngeren Scipio Africanus im Jahre 140 v. Chr.: ein Höhepunkt der Weltreichspolitik Roms im 2. Jahrhundert', *JÖAI* 45 (1960), 35–8. The chronology of the embassy has been a matter of strong debate over the last two decades of classical scholarship. The primary difficulty has surrounded two contradictory passages in Cicero's writings (*Acad.* 2.2.5 and *Rep.* 6.11.11). Based on the well-dated magistracies held by Scipio, the first passage would indicate a date before 142 BC and the second a date immediately preceding 134 BC. Indirect dating of the embassy by establishing a period in which none of the participants are known to have been present at conflicting events has suggested the dates 140–138 BC, which has been further confirmed by the Oxyrynchus epitome of Livy (iv, 668). Finally, some scholars have further narrowed the range to the period between spring 140 and late summer 139, based on the annalistic position of the relevant fragments of Diodorus as preserved in the Constantinian excerpts. D. R. Schwartz, 'Scipio's Embassy and Simon's Ambassadors', *SCI* 12 (1993), 114–26, esp. 114–15 and nn. 5–9, gives a succinct overview and complete bibliography. The most recent episodes of the debate can be accessed in A. E. Astin, 'Diodorus and the Date of the Embassy to the East of Scipio Aemilianus', *C. Phil.* 54 (1959), 221–7, and H. B. Mattingly, 'Scipio Aemilianus' Eastern Embassy', *CQ* 36 (1986), 491–5. The former argues for 140/39, the latter for 144/3. While I find no immediate need within the scope of this work to resolve these difficulties, I would add the following observation to the debate. The extract from Diodorus comes from Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *de Legationibus*, as the 31st passage under the subheading 'concerning embassies of foreign peoples to the Romans. From the Histories of Diodorus Siculus' (*Περὶ πρέσβειων ἐθνικῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Διοδώρου Σικελιώτου*).

symbolic potency overattributed to it, as a tracing of the bounds of Roman hegemony and a display of the form and authority of Roman rulership.¹⁴ It may even have had greater scope than previously thought.¹⁵ However, here the main concerns are how and why the historians chose to juxtapose the Romans, especially Scipio, with Physcon. While it was obviously traditional to vilify Physcon's character, this need not have been used to glorify Roman virtue. Yet this is clearly the trend.

How then do the authors construct the purpose of this apparently grand tour sent out by Rome early in the second half of the second century BC? Posidonius' fragments are brief, only offering quick snapshots of the embassy. One employs a Homeric quotation, saying that Scipio 'was sent by the Senate, inspecting "both the outrageous behaviour and good order of men"' (F254 E-K = F30 Jac. and Hom. *Od.* 17.487). In this passage the scope of the inspection is left open, allowing that the whole world might be included in its brief. Yet the quotation employed suggests that this inspection is not purely diplomatic: judgement will be passed and wrongs, as well as rights, are expected to be found. Another Posidonian fragment presents a far more intrusive objective: Scipio was 'sent out by the Senate to settle the kingdoms of the world in order to put them in the hands of the proper people' (F265 E-K = F59 Jac.). So from Posidonius' two fragments we are led to believe that the embassy was intended both to judge and take appropriate action. In reading Posidonius and

Note here that the passage has been recorded not as an example of a Roman embassy, but for the information contained about embassies *to* the Romans. Normally, foreign embassies were received by the Roman Senate in February, and in annalistic histories like Livy's the recording of foreign embassies forms a regular part of the narrative structure of each year. This suggests to me that Diodorus did not choose to record Scipio's embassy in the year in which it took place at the point where his narrative of foreign events reached the lands which Scipio visited, but instead gave a retrospective view when the nations which had been visited sent their own representatives in response. This placement emphasizes the positive reaction of the recipient nations.

¹⁴ A. Lampela, *Rome and the Ptolemies of Egypt* (1998), chap. 6.1, 196–204, offers a very thoughtful treatment in the wider political and historical context, but perhaps is too confident in the interpretation of the embassy as an attempt to improve the reputation of the Romans in the Hellenistic world.

¹⁵ D. R. Schwartz, 'Scipio's Embassy and Simon's Ambassadors', *SCI* 12 (1993), 114–26, links the letter to Ptolemy VIII Physcon written by one Lucius quoted at 1 Maccabees 15 with the Lucius Metellus, known to have accompanied Scipio from Trogus' account (38.8.8).

Diodorus together, it might be tempting to hear an echo of the first's claim that the embassy was instructed to put the kingdoms of the world into appropriate hands, in the second's report that the embassy observed that Egypt could command a powerful empire if a worthy leader were found, but the vague similarity of sentiment is not supported by a similarity in vocabulary. It is just possible that this comment by Diodorus may have been written during the Triumviral period while Antony controlled Egypt, and that his perspective was partially coloured by contemporary events. Unfortunately, we only have a general idea of the period in which he was writing (60–30 BC).

In Posidonius' fragments Scipio is explicitly sanctioned by the Senate to undertake his inspections, while the stop at Alexandria seems to have been by Ptolemaic invitation (F58 E-K = F7 Jac.). Was Ptolemy looking for Roman endorsement (like Tryphon in the preceding surviving fragment of Diodorus)? Does this help to explain the grand, but inappropriate, welcome he prepared for them? Would they not have come to Alexandria without the invitation? Trogus makes no suggestion that the embassy intended to interfere with the affairs of foreign nations, but does echo the intent to inspect. He, however, sets clear limits on the brief of the ambassadors: they were visiting the realms of Roman allies. This suggests the same idea expressed by Diodorus in his reference to the renewal of interstate 'friendships'. Such systems of alliance and mutual obligation were a key part of the structure and expansion of Roman hegemony, just as they were in the Roman conquest of the Italian peninsula. While Diodorus has much to say regarding the actions of the ambassadors, he says little about their intentions. The only such statement is with regard to their plan to survey Egypt. Yet if it is hard to imagine that Diodorus thought their renewal of friendships and arbitrations happened by chance, it is not surprising that he does not focus on the goals and motivations of the Romans; it appears that his composition is designed to illustrate the harmony between the presence of Romans abroad and the desires of other nations. To emphasize Roman aims would be to detract from this, by drawing attention to the fact that even mutually beneficial actions abroad were initiated by the Romans to satisfy themselves.

The further actions beyond Egypt of the embassy have left little trace in the fragments of the core authors—Diodorus gives the only

detailed account. His original most probably had more to say on the earlier stops of the embassy, but the Byzantine excerptor only recorded the final anecdote and the summary, which records a list of stops after Alexandria and then concludes: καθόλου δὲ καὶ τὰ πλείστα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπῆλθον. Egypt, Cyprus, and Syria cannot be the ‘majority of the known world’, so we must assume Diodorus recorded earlier stops before Alexandria. In his surviving narrative the embassy’s actions seem to be a further validation of the ‘Virgilian policy’ discussed in the previous chapter—that there was no better friend, and no worse enemy, than Rome. While the embassy is described as a diplomatic act, Diodorus’ description bears a close resemblance to administration. The ambassadors arbitrated and judged disputes, punished those who would not submit, and referred difficult decisions to the Senate. Through renewing allegiances, they are said to have increased the dominion of Rome (τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπηύξησαν). The areas they visited sent envoys to express their appreciation. All this is strikingly like the role of the provincial governors in the Late Republic: most were in constant motion, holding court was their primary function, and they often exerted pressure on the local people to express their appreciation. This type of embassy can in a sense be seen as a prototype for the administrative pro-magisterial governorships which became so common. Or perhaps Diodorus interprets it in terms most familiar to him. The praise of the ambassadors’ actions and the tendency of Diodorus towards generalization echo his thoughts on ‘good governors’ as seen at the end of the last chapter.

Although much commented upon,¹⁶ the actual narrative of the Romans in Egypt is episodic and relatively insubstantial. Posidonius only hints at Ptolemy’s willingness to change his customary habits to accommodate Scipio—he would go out on foot only for him. Justin in a parenthetical comment records what might have been a more substantial discussion in Trogus. He reports that for the Alexandrians, Scipio, in making his survey of the city, became a spectacle.

¹⁶ A. Jaehne, ‘Euergetes II. Physkon zwischen römischer und ptolemäischer Politik’, in *Concilium Eirene* XVI (1982), 76–82, and H. Heinen, ‘Die Tryphè des Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes II: Beobachtungen zum ptolemäischen Herrscherideal und zu einer römischen Gesandtschaft in Ägypten (140/39 v. Chr.)’ in H. Heine, K. Strohecker, and G. Walser (eds.), *Althistorische Studien* (1983), 116–30.

It is an unusual reference to popular reaction. The language is not particularly value-charged, but it does suggest that this embassy, unlike others, was noticeable to the local population, not just in its ceremonial aspects, but also as it carried out its business. It is also a nice reversal from Diodorus' portrayal of the Romans' shunning the spectacles provided by Ptolemy for them to become spectacles themselves as portrayed by Trogus. In Diodorus' own account the disdain of the Romans for the banquets of Physcon (33.28b.2) is well paralleled by the disdain of Viriathus for the display of his father-in-law (33.7). Their characterization and reasoning are similar: they had accustomed their bodies to a simple diet and felt that extravagance was destructive to body and mind. This equation of the Romans with some of the qualities associated with 'the noble savage' further distances them from the Hellenistic monarchs. Yet while characters such as Viriathus are shown to be exceptional among their people, these Romans are held up as good examples of their race as a whole.

Only Despots?

Like much of the material on Physcon, the remaining examples of kingly enemies of Rome are dominated by rhetorical polemic instead of complaints regarding particular events and actions. This helps to validate the use of historiographical methodology for analysis. Thematic characterizations of Eastern monarchs—as examples of such traits as extravagance and brutality—are not new or unique to this period; within the core texts the themes emerge much earlier. For a brief comparison one might see the discussion in Trogus of Ptolemy IV, who is said to have given himself over to murder, feasting, whoring, and musical instruments, to such an extent that in the end his kingdom was run by a family of prostitutes (30.1–2). Even this early Trogus portrays the Romans as the logical antidote to such corruption. At the death of this Ptolemy (c.205 BC), his boy-heir Ptolemy V Epiphanes is said to have been given into the guardianship of the Romans. However, they took up the charge, according to Trogus, because they were looking for a reason to make war on Philip, who, it is said, was threatening to divide Egypt between himself and Antiochus.

Laodice, wife of Ariarathes V of Cappadocia,¹⁷ illustrates that women can just as easily be tarnished with the same brush as their male counterparts: again, the chief crime is parricide motivated by a desire to preserve personal power. She is reported to have killed five of her six male children as they came close to maturity, because she feared losing control of the kingdom when they came of age. Only her execution forestalled the poisoning of the last son. For this particular despot Trogus makes the comparison between the Eastern monarch and Rome explicit. He says, 'the Roman people showed greater loyalty to the sons of their ally than the boys' mother did to her children; by the former the youngsters had their kingdom extended, by the latter their lives taken away' (Trog. 37.1.3). One might have expected Trogus to be influenced in his characterization of this female despot by the strong memory of Cleopatra and the conflict with Octavian, the future Augustus, but besides gender there are no obvious parallels.

Like the Ptolemies, the Attalids were traditional eastern allies of the Romans. Yet in Diodorus, King Attalus III (reigned 139/8–133 BC) is contrasted with his predecessors, who achieved success by kindness and benevolence. Should we hear echoes of the historiographical topos of imperial rise and decline? Attalus' own crimes are primarily characterized as the unscrupulous slaughter of his friends. He carried out these killings in stealth, using a 'barbarian' mercenary leader who was insatiable for gold and blood alike. Those at a distance from his palace he dealt with by assassination. Not only the friends but also their whole families suffered. The end result was that he had stirred his subjects to hope for a revolution (34/5.3). From Diodorus, one is given the impression that not only should this royal line end, but that its end was divinely desired. The historian even records that the Pythia prophesied to Attalus I that his line would rule only down to his grandchildren and no farther (34/5.13). Trogus takes a slightly different approach to the defamation of Attalus' character. He chooses to focus on madness, into which the violence is incorporated as the first sign of insanity. The contrast with the previous Attalids is less strong than in Diodorus, but is still

¹⁷ Trogus or Justin appears to have made an error in her name; it should be Nysa. See B. C. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates* (1986), 38 n. 117 and 73 n. 29.

present. He is said to have defiled the flourishing kingdom he inherited from his uncle. The victims of his violence, kinsmen and friends, are accused of murdering his mother and wife.

However, the characterization of Attalus' madness is even further developed by Trogus. First his physical appearance degenerates; again we are reminded of the portrayal of Physcon, with the external character being a reflection of his internal nature. Then he takes up growing edible and poisonous plants, sending mixtures of both to friends. This hobby is replaced by an obsession with modelling and sculpture. Finally, his attempts to build with his own hands a monumental memorial for his mother lead to his death by heatstroke (36.4.1–5). In the surviving text, Trogus places no special emphasis or comment on the bequest by Attalus III of his kingdom to the Romans. However, at least in the epitome of Justin, the record of the inheritance is the concluding sentence of the long disquisition on the king's encroaching madness at the end of his life. Each of his actions is progressively more bizarre, and the reader is left to wonder whether the bequest is yet another example of Attalus' insanity, or, alternatively, if the Romans are the cure for what has ailed the city of Pergamum and its extensive territories, namely poor leadership. Therefore, although Attalus is not an 'enemy' of Rome, he too is a symbolic alternative, the type of ruler whom the Romans are replacing. Again, one is left with the feeling that the core authors approve of the new regime in terms heavily cloaked in comparison, although any optimism is also tempered by recalling how the acquisition of the province of Asia features heavily in the rhetoric of decline.

The next enemy, the remnants of the Seleucid dynasty, is equally absent from the battlefield for the greater part of the period. However, if we look at this power through 1 Maccabees, it is the dominant threat and recent overlord of Judaea, while Rome is seen as a force which can counter kings, especially the descendants of the Diadochi. Diplomacy alone may check the Syrian forces. This perspective on the power dynamic between Syria and Rome is further confirmed by Diodorus' representation of the Tryphon episode and Trogus' sentiments on the final settlement of the region as a province by Pompey. The Seleucids, like the Ptolemies, are the last remnants of Alexander's dominion, but unlike the Egyptian dynasty, the Syrian house has

never had cordial relations with Rome. It is a natural adversary, even if it is sporadically submissive. The comparisons with Rome were apparently not made explicit by the historians, but the parallels with the other despots are clear. Among the ever-changing and ineffectual contestants for the Babylonian throne, the core authors find fertile ground to develop further their ideas of the characteristics which disqualify men from prosperous leadership.

The first Diodoran example seems to echo Scipio Nasica's prediction of the decline of Rome with the loss of her traditional enemy, Carthage. Without the check of competitors for his throne, Demetrius II Nicator (145–140, 129–125 BC) began to brutalize the population. His treatment of the Antiochenes is given as a primary example of his cruelty, with particular emphasis on the forced confiscation of weapons and the seizure of property. He is compared to his father in his violent tendencies. Finally, the passage concludes with a generalization of how the populace desires a constant change of dynastic power as each new claimant tries to win their favour (33.4). Another short fragment (Diod. 33.9) gives a morally outraged treatment of Demetrius, specifically during his stay in Laodicea. He is criticized for idleness and lavish entertainments, as well as random outrages, and he is said to be unable to learn from his mistakes. Trogus also explores the character of Demetrius, together with its origins and consequences. '... It started with the people of Antioch, led by Tryphon, who deplored the king's tyrannical behaviour, which had now become unbearable through his exposure to the brutality of the Parthians ...' (Trog. 39.1.3). The representations of Parthians are discussed in detail below; here it is enough to note that this characterization of the Parthians is in stark contrast with Trogus' earlier account of the Parthian king's treatment of Demetrius in captivity. He is said to have been given a princess in marriage and kept in a kingly style (38.9.3). Demetrius' behaviour not only rouses Tryphon to revolt, but allows Physcon to put forth Alexander Balas as pretender to the throne, because the people of Syria were willing to accept any king as an alternative (39.1.5, cf. 35.1.8). For the most part the presentation of Demetrius II in the surviving texts of both Diodorus and Trogus lacks a cohesive narrative of events, a state which probably arises from the excerptors' choices rather than the nature of the original text.

Since Nicator, like the other Syrian monarchs of this period, is central to the main narrative of 1 Maccabees, this text provides a better sense of chronological progression. He entered events in 147 BC with his return from Crete and his opposition to Alexander Epiphanes (10.67), and took the throne with the support of Ptolemy VI Philometor in 145 BC (11.9–19). His rulings favour Jonathan, dismissing the complaints of ‘lawless and traitorous’ Jews and granting territory and immunity from taxation to Judaea (11.20–37). This particularly favourable perspective sets the groundwork for a different interpretation of the mutinous factions. In 1 Maccabees Tryphon is able to raise support for his rebellion because Demetrius has angered the soldiers by establishing peace throughout the kingdom and thus depriving them of their income (11.38–40). In good faith Jonathan then acts heroically by sending 3,000 trained men to rescue the king from the mob of Antioch; they save Demetrius, plunder the city, and murder 100,000 citizens (11.44–50). The author of 1 Maccabees intends this to glorify the Jewish nation. ‘So the Jews gained glory in the eyes of the king and of all the people in his kingdom, and they returned to Jerusalem with much spoil’ (1 Macc. 11.51). But the nature of his account, which at least lets us know that the other authors are basing their vilification on events of significant proportion, also reminds us that the nature of the subject matter does not dictate the presentation chosen by any one author. However, after this event, where it was clearly important to the author to validate Jewish actions through prior glorification of the king, 1 Maccabees begins to come into line thematically with the other accounts. ‘But he broke his word about all that he had promised; and he became estranged from Jonathan and did not repay the favours which Jonathan had done him, but oppressed him greatly’ (1 Macc. 11.53). It is also 1 Maccabees that gives the clear perception of Demetrius’ authority as being second only to that of Rome. The Syrian king makes decisions through his fear and desire to stay in line with the policies of the Romans: ‘In view of these things King Demetrius confirmed him in the High Priesthood, and he made him one of the king’s friends and paid him high honours. For he had heard that the Jews were addressed by the Romans as friends and allies and brethren, and that the Romans had received the envoys of Simon with honour’ (1 Macc. 14.38–40). This is further confirmed by the later report that

the Roman consul wrote directly to Demetrius ordering him to do no harm to the Jews (15.22). This deference to Roman policy is reminiscent of the pragmatic outlook endorsed by Nicolaus in his writings on Herod's interactions with Rome.

The presentation of the brother of Demetrius II Nicator, Antiochus VII Sidetes (138–129 BC), who took the throne during Nicator's incarceration by the Parthians, is even more confused. The surviving passages on his character sweep from deeply positive in tone to utterly derogatory. There is no obvious reason for the positive treatment, such as that found for the author of 1 Maccabees in his desire to justify his hero's actions through a complimentary portrayal of the king. Staying with the narrative of 1 Maccabees, the first mention of Sidetes comes at the opening of chapter 15 with a copy of his letter of introduction to Simon, announcing his own position and his grants towards the Jewish people. He informs the High Priest that he intends to land in Judaea on his expedition to eject Tryphon the usurper of the throne, and that upon assuming royal power he will honour the Jews, particularly their independence and tax remission (15.1–13). This promising beginning quickly turns sour. He rejects the aid sent by Simon and accuses the Hasmonaeans of devastating Judaea, over which he claims sovereignty. A thousand talents are demanded to forestall a Seleucid campaign to reclaim the land (*1 Macc.* 15.26–31). This message is delivered by a friend of the king, Athenobius, who receives Simon's mild response regarding Judaea's claim to the territory, but does not listen and instead raises the hostility and greed of the king even further by reporting the wealth he saw in Jerusalem (15.32–36). Shortly afterwards the king orders the invasion of Judaea (15.38–41). The final chapter of 1 Maccabees details the war and the treacherous murder of Simon and two of his sons. No resolution is offered to the conflict. The end of the war is recorded in Diodorus, but the tone is much different. Antiochus VII is described as magnanimous and mild-mannered for his restraint in dealing with the Jews. Even at the urging of his counsellors to re-enact the desecration of the temple by Antiochus IV Epiphanes and wipe out the whole race, he dismisses the charges against them after extracting tribute and hostages, and destroying the walls (34/5.1). Again, one man's hero is another's villain. Rome, however, is absent.

Trogus' interest in Antiochus VII Sidetes focuses on his Parthian campaign, but his first passage may well relate to Judaea, even if that state is not specifically named. The king is said to have been cognisant of his brother's reputation for idleness and his father's for arrogance; he attempted to overcome this legacy through a campaign against the rebellious territory (36.1.9). This relatively positive statement seems at odds with the description of his campaigns two books later in Trogus. When this king decided to make war on the Parthians, his preparations were ridiculous:

There was as much provision in it for luxurious living as for fighting a campaign; 80,000 men-at-arms were attended by 300,000 camp followers, most of whom were cooks and bakers [and entertainers].¹⁸ Certainly there was so much silver and gold that even the common soldiers used hobnails of gold in their boots, and trod underfoot the substance people so love that they fight over it with cold steel. Cooking vessels too were of silver—as though they were proceeding to a dinner rather than a war. (Trog. 38.10.2)

However, this luxury is not directly cited as the cause of his downfall. Instead, billeting his soldiers for the winter aroused such hostility that his own people defected, and he was abandoned through the cowardice of his men. The connection between luxury and the deterioration of soldiers is so extensive a topos that it seems as if the author expects readers to make the connection themselves. One might compare the criticism of Apellicon of Teos, Athenion's general in the attack on Delos. Posidonius says he behaved as though he was attending a public festival rather than a military expedition, and the Roman commander was able to cut his men to pieces as they lay unguarded in a drunken sleep (Athen. 5.214F–215A = F253 E-K = F36 Jac.).

Posidonius also recorded the extravagant luxury of Antiochus VII Sidetes. One of the surviving fragments does not make explicit judgement, while the other allows the moral to be placed in the mouth of his enemy, the Parthian king. Arsaces, upon burying the executed king, says, 'your boldness and drunkenness, Antiochus, caused your fall; for you expected to drink up the Arsacid kingdom in huge cups' (Pos. F63 E-K = F11 Jac.). The direction of the

¹⁸ The manuscripts read *scaenicorum* here, but this was deleted by Seel in his edition of the text.

criticism is interesting, in that the two other surviving fragments which record Sidetes' excesses (the previous passage from Trogus and one quoted below from Posidonius) focus primarily on food and precious metals. Moreover, it is not his own consumption on which they focus, but instead the absurdity of his sharing with the masses. However, it might be seen as related to the sentiments of the above fragment, in that both suggest the Syrian king was reckless and thoughtless in his Parthian campaign. Of course, as the statement comes in indirect speech, it is open to question whether the historian wants the reader to accept it. Without the surrounding context, the only remaining clues are Posidonius' characterizations of the Parthian Kings, and these are too few and too contradictory to be conclusive.¹⁹

In the other Posidonian fragment, Antiochus VII Sidetes is identified again with specific reference to his Parthian campaign, but the topic of the passage is his interaction with the general populace, not the soldiers:

He would give daily receptions for the masses. In them, apart from the heaps of food that were consumed and tossed out as scraps, each diner would carry off whole joints of meat and fowls, and of sea creatures prepared uncarved, capable of filling a wagon. And after that, honey cakes and garlands of myrrh and frankincense with ribbons of compressed gold as long as a grown man in great quantities. (Pos. F61a E-K = F9a Jac.)²⁰

While the sheer excess and the similarity with the passage from Trogus suggest that this description is intended as a criticism, this same king is elsewhere described as magnanimous (Diod. 34/5.1, see above), and public benefactions may well have been part of a positive estimation of his character.

The Syrian monarchs remained a popular target for moralizing historians. Diodorus gives a similar 'repulsive' treatment of

¹⁹ The relevant fragments are F57 E-K = F5 Jac. on the violence done to so-called 'friends'; F64 E-K = F12 Jac. on the regal treatment afforded a kingly prisoner; and F282 E-K = F71 Jac. on the form of the Parthian government. See below for discussion.

²⁰ Athenaeus quotes this twice. This fragment comes from 12.540B-C, while its duplicate, F61b E-K = F9b Jac., is found at 5.210C-D. It is from just such verbatim doublets separated by a long distance within Athenaeus' work that we can have confidence in his reproduction of the language of his source.

Antiochus IX Philopater Cyzicenus, who came to the throne in 113 bc. His inappropriate behaviour includes drunkenness, consorting with actors, an obsession with puppetry, and the hunting of dangerous beasts. His interest in mechanical stagecraft is nicely set in opposition to his lack of siege-craft, but the condemnation of hunting seems at first strange in that such pursuits are usually glorified in the training of military leaders.²¹ The objection seems to be the lack of self-preservation and his inappropriate entourage. That the converse of these last two should be held up as the values of a king does not seem so unusual.

While Rome is absent from the surviving narratives regarding these Syrian monarchs, we need only cast our minds back to the passage which opened the previous chapter in which Pompey settled Syria as a province (Trog. 40.2.2–5). Even more explicit is Trogus' comment on the aftermath of the Roman annexations of Cyrene, Crete, and Cilicia: 'When this happened, the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt both felt restricted by the proximity of the Romans. They had regularly sought to extend their territories by wars with their neighbours but now that their freedom to manoeuvre was removed, they turned their respective strength to destroying each other' (Trog. 39.5.4). Such passages remind us that the historians saw no one region as separate from the whole, and Rome's dominance is the context for all their writings. Thus the ineffectuality of the Syrian kings underlines not only the inevitability of Roman hegemony, but also the relative desirability of Roman leadership by way of comparison.

Of all the eastern threats, the Parthians weighed particularly heavily on the Roman psyche in the latter half of our period and seem to be treated by some of the historians as possible, even probable, rivals for Roman control of at least the eastern Mediterranean.²² Livy chastizes '...the most frivolous of the Greeks, who actually extol

²¹ For the practice in both the Antigonid royal house and Scipio Aemilianus, see Polybius 31.29.

²² Keaveney has done much to modernize the historical view of Romano–Parthian relations, distinguishing an early period in which conflict was avoided and a later escalation of tensions fuelled by the objectives of individual Roman dynasts: see his two articles, 'Roman Treaties with Parthia circa 95–circa 64 bc', *AJPhil.* 102 (1981), 195–212, and 'The King and the Warlords: Romano–Parthian Relations circa 64–53 bc', *AJPhil.* 103 (1982), 412–28.

the Parthians at the expense of the Romans: ...' (9.18.6). Praising Parthians when they were the source of such anxiety for Roman foreign policy could have potential political implications. This passage from Livy challenges us to consider whether the portrayal of Parthians by any of the core authors is truly flattering.

The title Arsaces, as Trogus and Justin point out to their readers (41.5.6 and 8), was the name of the first king of the Parthians, and in turn came to be adopted by all subsequent rulers of that empire. Uniformity of name, much like the family names of the Macedonian monarchies such as the Ptolemies and Seleucids, often aimed to present a unity throughout the dynasty and allow new rulers to co-opt the prestige of their forebears. When the ancient writers perpetuate this custom of labelling a king only by the family or regal name without a secondary identifying label, they are maintaining the ambiguity of identity. It is the task of the modern reader to decide in each case whether the ambiguity is simply a flaw in the methodology, hindering the author's characterization of an individual ruler, or if instead the ambiguity intentionally invites the reader to generalize from the particular instance to all bearers of that particular name. Of course, the problem is further complicated when a fragmentary text removes the context which might have guided the reader's judgement.

These issues are particularly relevant when looking at the striking eulogy of Arsaces in Diodorus (33.18). The fragment derives from the Constantinian excerpts under the heading *de virtutibus et vitiis*. Because the subject matter of the bracketing fragments in that collection is securely dated from other sources,²³ we can say with confidence that it formed part of Diodorus' account of the years 140 to 139 BC. However, this is no guarantee that the events described fell within these years, only that Diodorus felt they were somehow relevant to what did occur at that time. Internal evidence is too vague to provide any firm dating. As already mentioned, Diodorus uses the generic name for the Parthian King, Arsaces. Even in the list of accomplishments, the only tangible achievement is the extension of his territory

²³ The preceding fragment (33.17) discusses the campaign of Q. Pompeius (cos. 141 BC) against the Numantians, and the following concerns the funeral honours of Viriathus (c.139 BC).

even to India, but this cannot be linked with any particular Parthian king. The usual explanation of this passage assumes that the king in question was the ruling king in Parthia at this time, Mithridates I Arsaces VI (died 138/7 BC), and that Diodorus has included this eulogy as part of his discussion of Demetrius II Nicator's campaigns against the Parthians in 140 BC, which led to his capture and imprisonment until 129 BC. While this may very well be accurate, the inherent ambiguity is historiographically more significant. Diodorus is here concerned, not with events or individuals, but with the means by which the Parthian empire was expanded and rule over extensive territory secured. Thus it is equally likely that such a passage refers to the ultimate founder of the empire, Arsaces I, not the present holder of that position. How, then, did Diodorus characterize 'Arsaces'?

King Arsaces, by pursuing a set policy of clemency and humanity, won an automatic stream of advantages and further enlarged his kingdom. For he extended his power even to India, and without a battle brought under his sway the region once ruled by Porus. But, though raised to such heights of royal power, he did not cultivate luxury or arrogance, the usual complements of power, but prided himself on the exercise of equity towards those who accepted his rule and courage towards those who opposed him. In short, having made himself master over many peoples, he taught the Parthians the best of the customs practised by each. (Diod. 33.18)

This borrows heavily from the themes used to characterize Roman rule, especially the general statements of policy explored in the previous chapter. It warns of the pitfalls of power, but argues that an empire should be built and preserved by similar means, namely clemency. The passage also argues for the connection between the character of the leader and that of the people. This model of influence has been seen also in the historical fragments exploring the 'decline' of Rome in the Late Republic. In fact, if the proper nouns were removed from the fragment there is little substance to the narrative which could suggest the actual subject matter. From such a passage, we, as the modern reader, learn far more about the author's views on the hypothetical relationship between ruler and empire than about any actual series of events.

This distance between characterization and historicity is further highlighted when we turn to examine the same individual in

Trogus.²⁴ He too takes liberties in constructing his narrative. The difficulties presented by this free-handed approach are further compounded by confusion once more around the names of the Parthian kings. It seems fair to compare first his presentation of the Parthian king in 140 BC at the time of Demetrius' invasion. Then given the generalizing nature of the Diodoran passage, it is also valid to contrast the extended treatment of the Parthian dynasty in the digressions at the end of Trogus' histories (Books 41 and 42). If we assume for the moment that the Arsaces of Diodorus was the opponent of Demetrius II in 140 BC, we then have in Trogus a complete reversal of roles for each monarch in that clash. In Trogus' account, Demetrius hopes to throw off the stigma of idleness by taking action against the Parthians. In doing so, he is allowed to play the role of the saviour, while the Parthians epitomize violent despotism. 'The people of the East were not unhappy to see him come, because of the ruthlessness of Arsacides, king of the Parthians, and also because, after growing used to the old Macedonian empire, they found the high-handedness of this new empire difficult to bear' (Trog. 36.1.3). Again, we have an ambiguity of names. Either Trogus or Justin or perhaps some copyist has made an error over the correct form of the traditional name for the Parthian kings. Oddly, this mistake is consistent throughout the narrative of Demetrius and the Parthians, but in the two-book digression on Parthian history the correct form is used repeatedly.²⁵ Allowing that the error is just that, we can continue and look at the characterization.

Trogus is even more explicit in his generalization regarding the kings of Parthia; he easily slips from the singular name of a king to the broader concept of a 'new empire'. In this way he also allows Demetrius II to stand for a type, representing 'the old Macedonian empire'. Surprisingly, this contrast between Parthia and the successors of Alexander is one of the few places in Trogus' narrative where the Macedonians are allowed a plausibly positive role. In other

²⁴ B. van Wickevoort Crommelin, 'Die Parther und die parthische Geschichte bei Pompeius Trogus-Justin', in J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse. The Arsacid empire: Sources and Documentation* (1998), 259–77.

²⁵ One possible explanation of the origin of such an error is a variation in the original sources used for the sections on Seleucid history and those used for the Parthian digression.

contrasts, they are overshadowed by the Romans. Take for instance that last line of Book 40, 'little by little, the East, through the quarrels of its kings, who were all of the same blood, became the territory of the Romans' (Trog. 40.2.5). The defeat of Demetrius by the Parthians indicates that Demetrius and the Seleucids are truly part of the 'old' empire. Moreover, that it is the Parthians and not the Romans who overcome them, seems to echo the statement which opens Trogus' digression on Parthian history: 'Today the Parthians rule the East, the world being partitioned, as it were, between them and the Romans' (Trog. 41.1.1).

Can anything of Diodorus' clement Parthian reign be seen in Trogus? At first glance, the narrative of Demetrius' treatment in captivity seems to contradict the earlier labelling of the Parthians as arrogant and ruthless.²⁶ Trogus reports how he is given luxurious surroundings in the capital city, a princess as his wife, and is twice forgiven for his attempts to escape. Posidonius mentions a similar incident, specifically focusing on how a captured Syrian king is given regal treatment at banquets. Unfortunately, there is no authorial interpretation of this behaviour.²⁷ The same cannot be said for Trogus, who ensures that his readers do not mistake this for generosity. 'The Parthians' humane and lenient treatment of Demetrius was not prompted by innate compassion or by a regard for family ties, but rather by their designs upon the throne of Syria. They intended to use Demetrius against his brother Antiochus, as the circumstances, the occasion, or the fortunes of war required' (Trog. 38.9.10). This ruthlessness even in benefaction is further confirmed by the passage quoted above (39.1.3), in which Trogus blames a change for the worse in Demetrius' nature on exposure to the Parthians. Here we see the freedom of the historian to interpret events. By providing analysis and statement of motivation Trogus changes the reader's understanding of the behaviour of his subjects.

In Trogus, then, the Parthians are quite distant from the ideal model of empire building constructed by Diodorus, although both

²⁶ Other sources of this episode include App. *Syr.* 67 and Jos. *AJ* 13.184–6.

²⁷ The introduction given to F64 E-K = F12 Jac. by Athenaeus identifies the king as 'Seleucus', but it is most difficult to find an appropriate king by that name who was taken prisoner. Kidd, *Comm.*, 303–4, reviewing the evidence, suggests that the confusion should be accepted as just that, with no viable solution at present.

use the Parthians as a type to be moulded for the purposes of narrative. The digression takes the form of many other such embedded narratives in both Trogus and other authors. Space is given over to origins, geography, and ethnography, before a chronological account of the kings. The introductory sections emphasize the animosity between the Parthians and Romans, as if the hostility were central to their identity. This would not be overly surprising to the Roman readership; the dominant concern in Eastern affairs was the lingering Parthian threat. Throughout the digression, the historiographical themes associated with the Eastern king and the barbarians are mingled. The initial discussion is full of the ethnographic present, discussing habits and customs which are meant to distance the Parthians from the norms of Romano-Hellenistic culture. Most of the ethnographic description of Parthian warfare, slavery, government, and other elements is given with a detached lack of expressed opinion, and allowed to stand for its unembellished novelty value, but as the section draws to a close, the authorial voice intrudes to make sure the reader comes to the correct conclusions regarding this mode of life: 'Their national character is impetuous, truculent, devious and insolent... They are always restless and ready to create trouble, either at home or abroad... and no reliance can be placed on their words or their promises...' (Trog. 41.3.7–10).

Two fragments suggest that Posidonius also included some ethnographic discussion of the Parthians in his *Histories*, and one most definitely expresses the author's condemnation of their customs. It describes in vivid detail how a 'friend' of the king does not sit at table, but like a dog is fed scraps and beaten bloody on the slightest pretext. The gruesome tone might imply disapproval on its own, but the fragment ends with a clear statement on the hypocrisy involved: the man must do obeisance to his tormenter, as if to a benefactor (F57 E-K = F5 Jac.). The other generalizing statement of Parthian behaviour is without any stigmatization; it only records how the Parthian senate has two halves, the Kinsmen, and the Wise Men and Magi. On the advice of both, kings are appointed. With so little it is important not to overemphasize the significance of a fragment, but the recording of such behaviour can have the effect of distancing the writer and reader from the subject, culturally and perhaps morally.

So far the alternatives to Roman rule found within the core texts have been distinctly unappealing, and for the most part improbable. The remainder of this chapter, both on Mithridates, a true military challenge to the Romans, and on the idealized representations of certain barbarians, has a more ambiguous character. Often the historians slip into glorification, similar to the Diodoran passage in praise of the Parthians, but on balance none of the rivals offers a viable or stable alternative. And, a glorified enemy only heightens the victory.

Mithridates

If the Parthians dominated the end of our period, then the middle years are claimed by the stellar career of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus.²⁸

Such was his subsequent eminence that he eclipsed all monarchs in grandeur, not only those of his own day but all those before him as well, and he fought wars with the Romans over a period of 46 years, with intermittent success. He did, indeed, go down in defeat before the greatest generals—Sulla, Lucullus and the rest, and especially Gnaeus Pompeius—but he did so only to rise again greater and more glorious than before in renewing the struggle, and to return all the more redoubtable from his losses. In the end he died an old man in the kingdom of his fathers, not through the violence of an enemy but from suicide. He left a son as his heir. (Trog. 37.1.7–9)

²⁸ A. Mastrocinque, *Studi sulle guerre Mithridatiche* (1999), provides perhaps the most current bibliography; also see W. Z. Rubinsohn, 'Mithradates VI Eupator Dionysos and Rome's Conquest of the Hellenistic East', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 8.1 (1993), 5–54; A. N. Sherwin-White, 'The Opening of the Mithridatic War', in *Philius Charin*. (1980), 1979–95; and D. G. Glew, 'Mithridates Eupator and Rome: A Study of the Background of the First Mithridatic War', *Athenaeum* 65 (1977), 380–405, and 'Between the Wars: Mithridates Eupator and Rome, 85–73 BC', *Chiron* 11 (1981), 109–30. On historiographical issues, see P. Desideri, 'Posidonio e la Guerra Mitridatica', *Athenaeum* 61 (1973), 1–29, 237–69; D. B. Šelov, 'Pages de la tradition littéraire antique concernant les guerres de Mithridate (Posidonius et Cicéron)', in M. M. Kobylina (ed.), *Histoire et culture du monde antique* (1977), 197–201 (in Russian); E. Salomone, 'La lotta antiromana di Mitridate Divergenze cronologiche nelle fonti', *Sandalion* 2 (1979), 129–41; B. Zuchold, 'Zur Resonanz der mithridatischen Kriege in Rom anhand der römischen Quellen', *Acta classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 15 (1979), 17–21.

Trogus with this statement explicitly endorses the judgement of the magnificence of Mithridates, a character to be admired, but the support which is given for this claim is unusual. Military accomplishments are a traditional reason for praising a ruler—we need only think of Alexander the Great, who ruled very little, but conquered much. However, in the case of Eupator Trogus does not point to conquest or the expansion of territory; instead, he emphasizes his successes and resilience in the face of the opposition of Roman generals. The happy ending is not victory, but the preservation of his inheritance, the freedom to choose his own death and the continuation of his line. We must admit that there is nothing intrinsically admirable in the evidence which Trogus chooses to provide: as the readers of the histories, we are forced to follow the author's reasoning, even if it appears counter-intuitive.

Trogus seems to be aware that his arguments are not likely to convince and thus follows the above passage with a biographical sketch emphasizing predestination. He uses supernatural events, a precocious childhood, and Mithridates' first acts as king to build up a sense of inevitability in the minds of his audience. It is surprising to see Trogus using omens in his own historical reasoning; as we have seen in previous chapters, he is usually sceptical, willing to correct superstition if he can, or simply to report the beliefs of others with no authorial support for the assertions. The technical detail of the astronomical phenomenon may be his means of trying to impress the authenticity of his claims upon his readership.²⁹ This slip from his normal habits suggests that Trogus is working particularly hard to sculpt an appropriate and impressive image for Mithridates. 'The greatness that was to be his had been foretold even by strange celestial phenomena. On two occasions, both in the year of his birth and in the year he began his reign, a comet burned so brightly that the entire sky seemed to be on fire. In its greatness it filled a quarter of the

²⁹ J. T. Ramsey, 'Mithridates, The Banner of Ch'ih-yu, and the Comet Coin', *Harv. Stud.* 99 (1999), 197–253, redates the comets to 135 BC and 119 BC. He also gives an interesting summary of the usually 'negative' interpretations of comets, and the few (and dubious) positive interpretations in antiquity (p. 201, especially nn. 11 and 13). He believes that the numismatic evidence confirms Trogus' assertion that the comet(s) were indeed interpreted positively by contemporaries, and that the image of Pegasus was adopted as a symbolic reference to the positive omen so as to avoid any misinterpretation of comet imagery as predicting negative events.

heavens, and with its brilliance it outshone the sun, while its rising and setting each took a period of four hours' (Trog. 37.2.1–3).

A short fragment of Nicolaus on earthquakes during the Mithridatic wars suggests that he too may have imbued natural phenomena with supernatural meaning for contemporary events (F74), but this is far from conclusive. Posidonius makes more general reference to supernatural prodigies in relation to Mithridates. However, he does so within the limitations of reported speech, allowing the supernatural to form part of arguments employed by Athenion in his hoodwinking of the Athenians. The despot claims that Mithridates 'is met in every city with superhuman honours, and called the god-king; oracles from all sides foretell his domination of the world' (Athen. 5.213B–C = Pos. F253 E–K = F36 Jac.). Of course, the highly rhetorical and exaggerated character of the speech requires the reader to take the testimony with a pinch of salt. However, Posidonius has indicated in his preceding discussion the believability of these statements by recording that the prestigious Dionysiac *technitai* in Athens welcomed Athenion as the envoy of the 'New Dionysus', preparing in his honour a public dinner complete with libations and prayers (Athen. 5.212D = F253 E–K = F36 Jac.).³⁰

The resilience and ability to survive against all odds seen in Trogus' introductory paragraph are alluded to in the same author's treatment of Mithridates' early years. Trogus has as the central theme of the king's boyhood a constant need to escape the plots against his life which were instigated by his guardians (37.2.4–9). These plots begin with unreasonable exercises in riding unbroken horses and throwing javelins. The young king rises to this challenge. The riding of unbroken horses is a common sign of future greatness in those destined to rule. The most familiar manifestation of this topos is from the legends surrounding Alexander and the horse named Bucephalus.³¹ The next obstacle is poison. This serves as an etiological explanation for Mithridates' fabled interest in pharmacology and the result-

³⁰ For discussion of the evidence for this divine association, see M. J. Price, 'Mithradates VI Eupator, Dionysus, and the Coinages of the Black Sea', *Num. Chron.* 128 (1968), 1–12. There is also the heroön on Delos dedicated by the Athenian Helianax in 102/1 BC: B. C. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates* (1986), 90–1 and W. H. Gross, 'Die Mithradates-Kapelle auf Delos', *AcA* 4 (1954), 105–17.

³¹ R. Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great* (1973), 47–8.

ing courses of antidotes that made him immune to poisons even at the end of his life when he attempted suicide. Finally, fearing outright violence, Mithridates immersed himself in hunting, building skill and strength through rough living, which was said to strengthen his courage and physique. Trogus goes so far as to claim that he never slept indoors for seven years. Aside from the poisoning, which is obviously an explanation for other legends surrounding Mithridates, McGing points out that cavalry skills and hunting are the traditional education of the Persian nobility.³²

Trogus further develops his portrayal of the king through a series of explicit comparisons, as well as novel episodes in his life. The victory over the Scythians is given heightened significance by the catalogue of those whom the Scythians had defeated. Thus Mithridates succeeded where Alexander, Cyrus, and Philip had all failed (37.3.2). Trogus then briefly mentions the occupation of Cappadocia (37.3.3). In Memnon's account these instances, instead of just being portrayed as the initial stages of his reign, are given a symbolic importance. Both are developed as part of the origins of the war with Rome. The seizure of Scythia is said to have brought the ambitions of Mithridates to Roman attention, encouraging them to take action to arrest the spread of his empire. Cappadocia, on the other hand, is used as a key example of the king's parricide and also gives the Romans a pretext for war. It is not until after the eastern conquests that Trogus brings Roman and Pontic desire into conflict. He records a secret journey made by the king throughout Asia and Bithynia so as to learn the geography for his further campaigns (37.3.3–5). This journey, like the previous campaigns, supports the statement that 'when he assumed control of his kingdom, Mithridates' first thoughts were not for governing it but for extending it' (Trog. 37.3.1). Thus the king is characterized as the aggressor, and one who has explicit designs on territories controlled by the Romans. It is just such a characterization, together with his glory's being achieved in his resistance to Roman generals, which begins to indicate that Trogus is not constructing Mithridates as a tragic hero or a viable alternative, but instead as a worthy rival for the best of Rome's military commanders.

³² B. C. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates* (1986), 44, explains this through Iranian theories of childrearing which emphasized cavalry warfare and hunting.

The other novel incident of his early reign in Trogus' narrative is his return from the secret journey to find that his wife (and sister) had been unfaithful and that there were plots to have him poisoned (37.3.7–8). It also seems to be suggested that the son she gave birth to in his absence might have been the product of such illicit liaisons. Obviously poison is a common theme in the stories surrounding Mithridates, but the significance of the episode may go beyond that topos. It seems very much in line with the stories of the plots against the king in his childhood, as discussed above.³³ However, instead of avoiding the plot, in this instance Mithridates 'exacted punishment for the crime from those responsible for it'. One recalls the tradition, as presented by Memnon, of Mithridates as the butcher of his relatives. These accusations of treason committed by those closest to him may be the counter-tradition, trying to remove the stigma of brutality from the king. However, in Memnon's surviving text there is no mention of his wife. Instead, the focus rests on the early age at which he began to shed the blood of his relatives. 'Mithridates was a murderer from childhood. Inheriting the throne at 13, after a short time, detaining in prison by force his mother, who had been left behind by his father as a partner for him in the crown, he utterly destroyed her in time. In addition, he killed his brother' (Mem. 22.2). Obviously, this type of material is the negative alternative to the 'precocious childhood' discussed above. As the incidents are intentionally set at the beginning of his kingship, it seems reasonable to see this material as Memnon's foreshadowing of the character of his rule. The passage given below and the following events make clear that Trogus was not endorsing the tradition of a history of previous family murders before the execution of his sister-wife. However, it does suggest that he was aware of a tradition which presented the king as ruthless in spilling the blood of his kinsmen.

Mithridates had begun a succession of murders with the killing of his wife, and he now decided to eliminate the sons of his other sister, Laodice—it was her husband Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, whom he had treacherously killed using the services of Gordius; for he thought the death of the father

³³ Just as the incident of attempted treason through poisoning parallels the events of the king's childhood, likewise the description of the king at leisure also reflects a continuity. He is said to spend the winter training instead of banqueting and to have not only built his own strength but honed that of his troops as well (Trog. 37.4.1–2).

would have served no purpose if the young men gained possession of their father's throne, which he passionately coveted. (Trog. 38.1.1)

The same incident is given a rather different focus and importance in Memnon's text (22.1). Here the seizure of Cappadocia is marked as the origin of the war between Mithridates and Rome, and since the first act of aggression is attributed to him, Memnon suggests that guilt lies in that direction. There is no mention of the father or brothers, and only a single nephew suffers at his hands. However, the crime is given added horror by the notice that it was carried out first by deceit and then by the king's own hand. The difference in source material between Trogus and Memnon is most apparent in their reconstruction of Mithridates' family tree. Here, Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia, is said to be Mithridates' brother, whereas in Trogus it is his wife, Laodice, who is the sibling.

The brutality of the Pontic king within his own family perhaps serves to explain certain indiscriminately severe acts in warfare. The most 'pathetic' and 'tragic' incident in the wider historical record is the deportation of the Chians; the canonical account comes in Appian (*Mith.* 46–7). This episode is given thorough treatment in a number of our primary sources. However, brutality does not seem to be the dominant theme. Moreover, although this is part of Mithridates' war with the Romans, the focus remains primarily on the relationship of the king and island, with little reference to the new Western power. This reduction of Roman focus is all the more surprising when we consider the extensive record, at least from inscriptional evidence, of Romano–Chian relations.³⁴ Photius' summary of Memnon's account has none of the expected pathos, and there is no remaining hint that this episode might have been used to exemplify Mithridates' fury. Instead the climax of Memnon's story comes after Appian's closes. During the transportation of the Chians to the Black Sea, the Heracleans waylaid the ships, rescuing the citizens and restoring them to their homeland (23). This deed

³⁴ W. Ameling, 'Lucius Licinius aus Chios', *ZPE* 77 (1989), 98–100; P. S. Derow and W. G. Forrest, 'An Inscription from Chios', *ABSA* 77 (1982), 79–92; L. Moretti, 'Chio e Lupa Capitolina', *RFIC* 108 (1980), 33–54. For a more theoretical treatment, see G. A. Tourlidis, 'The War of Chios against the Roman Imperialism and the Assistance Offered by the Greeks of Pontus', *Archeion Pontou* 40 (1985), 130–42 (in modern Greek with English summary).

seems too incredible to be completely accurate, since the immediate restoration of the Chians could not have escaped the notice of Mithridates, and after Heraclea's own destruction they had no resources to render such aid even to themselves, let alone to others. A fragment jointly attributed by Athenaeus to Posidonius (F51 E-K = F38 Jac.) and Nicolaus (F95) gives a brief mention of Mithridates' treatment of the Chians. According to their account, the king gave them over in chains to their slaves and settled them all in the land of Colchis. However, the king's actions are in part excused because he is made an agent of fate, which seeks to punish the Chians for being the first among men to take slaves.³⁵ There is some difficulty with the historicity of this account, in that unless the slaves were brought to Colchis as colonists, it seems unlikely that the Chians were both given over to their slaves and deported to Pontus.

In the search for brutality associated with Mithridates in the core authors, the most dramatic discussion is found in Posidonius' account of Athenion's tyranny.³⁶ Unfortunately, the validity of treating Athenion as a direct representative or agent of Mithridates himself is questionable. However, there is no difficulty in seeing him as an 'enemy of Rome' and one who at the very least took advantage of Mithridates' successes to elevate himself. Thus some discussion should be devoted to the portrayal of his actions as tyrant. As those actions are exemplified by a cruelty and brutality characteristic of some portrayals of the Pontic king, it is not incongruous to discuss them in the same context. Posidonius reports that upon taking control of Athens, he closed down the city and pursued those trying to escape. Some were killed immediately, others brought to trial as Roman sympathizers accused of attempted revolution and put to

³⁵ Kidd rightly questions whether this judgement actually derives from either Nicolaus or Posidonius, since, given the discussion in Athenaeus, it may well be his own means of structuring his text (*Comm.*, 276–7 and *Trans.*, 124–5).

³⁶ (Athen. 5.214 = F253 E-K = F36 Jac.). For the historical context and debates regarding the veracity of Posidonius, see A. Mastrocinque, *Studi sulle guerre Mithridatiche* (1999), Part V, 'Atene e Aristione', 77–87; E. Badian, 'Rome, Athens and Mithridates' in D. M. Pippidi (ed.), *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien* (1976), 501–21; C. Habicht, 'Zur Geschichte Athens in der Zeit Mithridates VI', *Chiron* 6 (1976), 127–42; G. R. Bugh, 'Athenion and Aristion of Athens', *Phoenix* 46 (1992), 108–23. On historiographical issues, see K. Bringmann, 'Poseidonios and Athenion: A Study in Hellenistic Historiography', in P. Cartledge, P. Garnsey, and E. Gruen (eds.), *Hellenistic Constructs* (1997), 145–58.

death as traitors. He confiscated property, amassing great wealth, and even sanctioned highwaymen. Those seized were tortured without trial. Many more men were brought to trial for attempting to restore exiles. Death sentences were carried out by beatings. Life in the city was further restricted by rationing food in minuscule quantities and imposing a curfew after sunset. He went so far as to attempt to seize the sacred treasury on Delos. Posidonius leaves no doubt that Athens is better off under Roman rule than with men such as this.

The tyrant's representation of the king in the speech attributed to Athenion in the fragment cannot give direct access to Posidonius' own thoughts on Mithridates, but shows us the types of portrayals Posidonius could construct. Here there is clear reference to some of the more violent episodes of the Mithridatic Wars (Athen. 5.213B = F253 E-K = F36 Jac.). In the narrative this portrayal is supposed to convince the Athenian people of Mithridates' military dominance and support, but to Posidonius' readers they would clearly be reminders of the horrors associated with the incidents. First, Athenion describes the humiliating display of Roman generals as trophy prisoners: the praetor Q. Oppius and, more famously, the proconsul M'. Aquillius. In the speech, it is described how Aquillius was 'bound by a long chain to a seven-foot Bastarnian', and 'dragged along on foot by a rider'.³⁷ The reader would also remember the ultimate fate of this man—to die by having molten gold poured down his throat, as Mithridates' interpretation of a fitting punishment for Roman greed.³⁸ Diodorus also seems to have discussed Aquillius' fate, but Photius' summary gives us little insight, other than to blame his original seizure on the Lesbians, who also, it seems, drove his son to suicide so as to escape the same fate (37.27).³⁹ We are left

³⁷ Cf. App. *Mith.* 20–1 and Livy *Epit. Per.* 78.

³⁸ App. *Mith.* 21 and 112, Plin. *HN* 33.48, and Cic. *Tusc.* 5.14; for further references, see Broughton, *MRR*, 2.43.

³⁹ This fragment is in two parts with an apparent lacuna between. In the first part, the subject is clearly Aquillius himself; in the second part, which describes the actual taking, the subject is described as being a very young man, and as committing suicide instead of submitting to capture. This does not harmonize with other testimony on Aquillius' death, but his capture at Mytilene is confirmed by other sources (Livy *Epit. Per.* 78, Val. Max. 9.13.1, Vell. Pat. 2.18.3). We must assume that the young man of the second half of the fragment is the proconsul's son or another member of the entourage, and that the lack of proper transition by the copyist has confused the text.

wondering if Diodorus intended that the Lesbians be included in the Mithridatic culpability, or if their haste and violence somehow relieve Mithridates of the burden of blame.

Returning to Posidonius' Athenion fragment, the other reference to violence in the speech is more opaque and again forces the reader to supply the end of the story. 'Of the rest of the Romans, some have taken refuge in the temples, prostrate before the statues of the gods, and the rest have literally become turncoats, changing from the Roman toga back to the original square himation of the Greeks' (Athen. 5.213B= Pos. F253 E-K = F36 Jac.). This alludes to the brutal slaughter of all the Roman and Italian inhabitants of Eastern cities orchestrated for a single day: the event and persecution have become known as the 'Asian Vespers'.⁴⁰ Luckily, there is no ambiguity in Memnon's reference to the Vespers. 'After these things, when Mithridates learned that the Romans were established among disparate cities, some of whom intended to be a hindrance to him, he sent orders to every city to murder the Romans among them on one day. And many, being persuaded, carried out such a slaughter, so that 80,000 met death by the sword on one and the same day' (Mem. 22.9). We recall that this same author has some of the strongest statements regarding Mithridates' cruelty and murderous tendencies from childhood.

We now move back to more positive characterizations. A dominant trait, usually considered desirable, is Mithridates' generosity and munificence. According to Diodorus, after his initial defeat of the Romans in Asia, Mithridates sent the prisoners whom he had taken during the course of the war back to their own lands, all well provisioned for their journey (37.26). The historian gives no insight into Mithridates' objectives in treating the prisoners well, but the consequences are made clear: his fame spread, cities hailed him as

⁴⁰ Cf. App. *Mith.* 22–3. Kidd, *Comm.*, 875, does not wish to see this passage as referring to this event, because he finds it an implausible sentiment for Athenion in his attempt to win support for Mithridates. E. Badian, 'Rome, Athens and Mithridates' in D. M. Pippidi (ed.), *Assimilation et Résistance* (1976), 509, accepts the connection and even uses it to date Athenion's tyranny. The reference to the Vespers seems to be clear, but since the speech is Posidonius' construction, not of a plausible piece of rhetoric for public delivery, but as a further characterization of both Athenion and the Mithridatic cause, chronological veracity and the ability to persuade the Athenian audience need not have been part of the historian's concerns.

‘god and saviour’, and further invitations and honours were presented to him. In Trogus, this initial victory also comes with a benefaction—the remission of debts and taxes—but the generosity is counterbalanced by the confiscation of military and fiscal resources from the recipients of these grants (38.3.8–9). Similarly, in the preceding lines when Trogus talks of Mithridates’ gifts and favours to various peoples, the motivation is again overt self-interest. The recipients are groups whom Mithridates hopes to secure as allies in his struggle against the Romans (38.3.7). Trogus puts words into Mithridates’ own mouth expressing his self-confidence in his reputation as a benefactor:

As for his fairness and generosity, he did not object to his own soldiers being called as his witnesses, and he had this fact as evidence of these qualities in himself, that he was the only king in possession not merely of the kingdoms of his forefathers, but of foreign kingdoms as well, inherited as a result of his own munificence, namely Colchis, Paphlagonia and the Bosphorus. (Trog. 38.7.10)

Posidonius seems to combine elements of both Trogus and Diodorus, covering acceptance by military success, an expectation of huge gifts, and the cancellation of debts. He takes this even further, suggesting that the Athenians expected Mithridatic rule to herald peace and the restoration of democracy. He also explicitly links this with the removal of Roman supremacy (Athen. 5.212A-B = F253 E-K = F36 Jac.).

There is of course a negative interpretation of gift-giving: what is bestowed may not be desired by the recipient; the gift may come with obligations; or it may exceed the bounds of proper custom. Memnon tries to teach about the dangers of receiving gifts (29.3–4). Mithridates effects the betrayal of Heraclea to his cause by providing a magnificent feast outside the city walls. When the citizens were well satiated and fully inebriated, the king took the city. Speaking to the people the next day, he represented his installation of a garrison under a Galatian commander as a gift of protection, and attempted to ease resentment by handing out coins to the people and even greater amounts to the magistrates. Of course, Memnon represents the Heracleans as reluctant allies of the Pontic king, possibly as part of his attempt to exonerate them in the eyes of the Roman victors.

Extravagance is an alternative interpretation of generosity, and this too is a trait of Mithridates. An odd fragment from Nicolaus characterizes both the King's ridiculous degree of public bequests and his own tendency towards gluttony: 'Mithridates, the Pontic King, having established a contest in excess in eating and hard drinking (the prize was a talent of silver), won both. Nevertheless he gave up the prize to the chosen contestant Kalamodrus the Cyzicene' (Nic. F73). This extract comes from the 103rd book of Nicolaus' universal history. Given that a fragment from the 104th book discusses events from the Mithridatic wars (F74) and one from the 107th discusses Sulla (F75), it seems relatively safe to assume that Nicolaus considered this event to be set in the early part of Mithridates' reign. Establishing or contributing to contests and festivals was within the normal sphere of benefaction for a Hellenistic monarch, but here the nature of the contest is shifted from traditional expressions of 'Greekness', i.e. excellence perfected in the gymnasia or through linguistic aptitude, towards self-indulgence and excess in the gratification of animal urges.⁴¹ Some of this type of behaviour has already been seen, especially with reference to Ptolemy Physcon. Yet Mithridates seems to take this gluttony to a new extreme; not only does he indulge himself, excelling beyond all others, but he also urges those under his influence to do likewise, rewarding their excess.⁴²

This brings the discussion conveniently around to the puzzling question of Mithridates' cultural affiliation. The question is of relevance here primarily in relation to the Pontic king's reception by the peoples in the territory contested by himself and Rome.⁴³ Is he an

⁴¹ For comparable discussions on Hellenism and kings outside the traditional Greek sphere, see J. Wiesehöfer, '“King of Kings” and “Philhellēn”: Kingship in Arsacid Iran', in P. Bilde *et al.* (eds.), *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship* (1996), 55–66; L. Hannestad, '“This Contributes in no small way to one's Reputation”: The Bithynian Kings and Greek Culture', *ibid.*, 67–98.

⁴² Another fragment of Nicolaus points towards a similar portrayal of the king (F94): it contains a brief reference to the king's parasitic sorcerer, Sosipater. Again, no overt value judgement is made, but the description of the man is not such as to suggest desirable company.

⁴³ K. Strobel, 'Mithradates VI. Eupator von Pontos: politisches Denken in hellenistischer Tradition versus römische Macht', *Orbis Terrarum* 2 (1996), 145–90; S. J. Saprykin, 'Die Propaganda von Mithridates Eupator und die Grenzfrage im Pontischen Reich', in E. Olshausen und H. Sonnabend (eds.), *Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen Geographie des Altertums* 4 (1994), 83–94; and D. G. Glew, 'The

outsider and invader? Or could he be a friend and defender? Trogus felt it appropriate to have Mithridates speak of himself as a living bridge between Greece and the East, and say that both origins were more honourable than that of the Romans: 'He was superior to that motley rabble of refugees since he could trace his line back on his father's side to Cyrus and Darius, the founders of the Persian Empire, and on his mother's side to Alexander the Great and Seleucus Nicator, founders of the Macedonian Empire...' (Trog. 38.7.1). We should hesitate to think of this as an assertion (fictive or otherwise) of Greek ancestry, given the conflicting thoughts in ancient medicine regarding the mother's contribution of the 'seed' to her progeny—often any similarity with the mother was credited to environment alone.⁴⁴ Furthermore, environment alone seems to be enough to allow one to be a philhellene, if not a 'Greek'. Consider the long passage in which Diodorus summarizes the origins of the Cappadocian kingdom and forefathers of Mithridates (31.19).⁴⁵ The panegyric of Ariarathes mentions personal devotion to philosophy and his status as friend and ally of the Romans, but more importantly goes on to say, 'thus it was that Cappadocia, so long unknown to the Greeks, offered at this time a place of sojourn to men of culture' (Diod. 31.19.8). Unfortunately for Mithridates, even if culture is defined in intellectual terms, the final judgement need not rest in his favour. When Mithridates sent ambassadors to Murena in the hope of confirming the treaty he had made with Sulla, Memnon makes the following comment upon Murena's rejection: 'For in fact the ambassadors, being Greeks and philosophers by nature, would rather disparage Mithridates than associate with him' (Mem. 26.1). This statement distances the Pontic king not only from Greeks, but in particular from those who engaged in the most elevated intellectual aspects of Hellenic culture. However, the strength of the statement

Selling of the King: A Note on Mithridates Eupator's Propaganda in 88 BC', *Hermes* 105 (1977), 253–6.

⁴⁴ Arist. *De motu an.* 727a2–30, 727b31–3, 728b18–31; cf. Hippoc. *Nat. puer.* 6–7.

⁴⁵ P. D. L. Breglia, 'Diodoro e Ariarate v. Conflitti dinastici, tradizione e propaganda politica nella Cappadocia del II secolo a. C.', *La parola del passato* 33 (1978), 104–29, would like to see the origins of this text in a pamphlet written by a courtier specifically for a Roman audience in the time of Gracchi; this seems highly implausible.

seems out of place, in that it is hard to imagine men with such inveterate hostility being appointed delegates by the king. Possibly, these ambassadors should be compared with the individual cities which continually switched sides, so as to attempt to stay closest to the victor. Thus having come first under the influence of the Pontic king, they won his trust, but when he, being at a disadvantage, sent them as ambassadors, they took the opportunity to dissociate themselves from his barbarity, owning instead their own credentials as intellectual Hellenists when coming before the Roman general. By having the behaviour of his own city reflect that of respected intellectuals Memnon furthers his own objective of exonerating Heraclea.

This more political and less cultural idea of identity can also be explored. We note that in Memnon the list of allies which Mithridates assembles at the beginning of his conflict with the Romans is distinctly non-Greek in character: the Parthians, Medes, Tigranes the Armenian, the kings of Phrygia, and Ibera (22.4). Likewise, the areas named in Athenion's speech as being under Mithridates' control are predominantly non-Greek, Asia being the exception: 'King Mithridates controls not only Bithynia and Upper Cappadocia, he controls the whole of Asia right through as far as Pamphylia and Cilicia. The kings of Armenia and Persia serve in his bodyguard, as do the princes of the tribes settled round Maiotis and the whole of Pontus to a circuit of 30,000 stades' (Athen. 5.213A = Pos. F253 E-K = F36 Jac.).

The core authors use not only geography, but even more effectively vocabulary, to distance the Mithridatic cause from the civilized world: 'So at first *the barbarians* [οἱ βάρβαροι] had the upper hand, but Fimbria, intending to recover by stratagem the losses of the battle line (for *the enemy* [τὸ πολέμιον] outflanked them in magnitude) ...' (Mem. 24.4). Memnon's description of the Pontic men fighting under Mithridates' son against the Romans clearly distances them not only from their opponents but also from all civilized peoples. οἱ βάρβαροι is used again of Mithridates' troops a number of times (Mem. 29.9 and 30.2), and in each case it is used to distinguish them from those fighting on the Roman side.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Janke, *Comm.* 133, does not think that the term necessarily has a negative connotation. Still, there can be no question that it is one which isolates and distances those who are labelled as such from the writer and reader, as well as from the characters in the narrative.

In looking at representations of the king's reception by the peoples of the Mediterranean, beyond any cultural labels, there seems to have been a great deal of pressure on the communities of the East to select their allies, and often the decision had to be taken for pragmatic considerations alone.⁴⁷ Memnon's presentation is the most dynamic—understandably so, as he is writing from the perspective of his own city and is thus in a difficult position. He seems to have no desire to flatter either side. So when Mithridates comes to Asia and all the cities go over to him, the historian comments, 'only the Rhodians loved their friendship with the Romans.' We might assume that the other cities abandoned the Romans because of their fear of Mithridates, but Memnon reports no objections to Mithridates' brutal order to slay all the Romans (22.9). Moreover, the Asian Vespers do not seem to inspire pity in the author for the victims, and it is also clear that the cities had a choice about their cooperation with Mithridates' orders. He puts particular emphasis on Mithridates' instantaneous seizure of control of Asia, and how it was partially accomplished without the need for force, and was closely followed by the submission of Eretria, Chalcis, the whole of Euboea, and 'the rest of the cities' (22.10). However, when confronted with the arrival of Sulla, it seems that Memnon is portraying the cities as having more of a pragmatic eye to their safety than any firm resolve for a particular ally: 'Upon his arrival, some of the cities came over to him, most willingly, others he possessed by force, putting to flight not a few of the Pontic army' (Mem. 22.11). This is made even more apparent when Fimbria almost captures Mithridates' son: 'Thus once this grievous and clear misfortune overcame the men of the king, most of the cities changed over to the Romans' (Mem. 24.5). The objective of the cities was to remain on the winning side. In some ways this pragmatism belies any suggestion in the texts that Mithridates' 'popularity' somehow reflected anti-Roman sentiment. Posidonius also seems to reflect this tradition that the Eastern cities, specifically Athens, were more concerned with remaining attached to the

⁴⁷ E. Salomone, 'Relations politiques et militaires de Mithridate VI Eupator avec les populations et les cités de la Thrace et avec les colonies grecques de la Mer Noire occidentale', in A. Fol (ed.), *Pulpuđeva* ii (1978), 294–305; C. S. Mackay, 'Damon of Chaeronea: The Loyalties of a Boeotian Town during the First Mithridatic War', *Klio* 82.1 (2000), 91–106.

winning side than with any ideological affinity to either the Romans or the Pontic king; this can be illustrated in his statement that Athenion was sent out as an ambassador only when affairs began to favour Mithridates' chances (Athen. 5.212A = F253 E-K = F36 Jac.).⁴⁸ More direct is Trogus' statement that 'when Aquillius and Malthinus were put to flight along with Nicomedes, Mithridates was given a wholehearted welcome by the cities' (Trog. 38.3.8). Note here that the welcome comes from his military success, not as a result of any act of generosity.

Posidonius, through his account of Athenion's return to Athens, expresses supreme contempt for the acceptance by the Greek cities of Mithridatic dominance. The scene opens with Athenion coming ashore at Carystus because of bad weather and the Athenians sending an escort to bring him home in regal style. Much is made of the silver-footed litter with scarlet coverings. This is compared first with Athenion's own humble origins in which he never had an opportunity to use such colouring for his scholar's gown. Secondly, the contrast is made with the Romans, who it is said never 'insulted Attica with such a display of effeminate luxury'. This statement must be further contextualized by taking into account the prevalent Roman custom for the elite to travel by litter or sedan chair.⁴⁹ Thus it is not the act of being carried which is objectionable, but instead the ostentatious display of wealth, especially those decorative items which befitted a woman of status rather than a returning ambassador or scholar for hire.⁵⁰ Although Posidonius without doubt thoroughly vilifies Athenion as a deceitful power-hungry man, in this particular episode the burden of responsibility rests not with him, but on the shoulders of the citizens who flock to greet him, showering him with

⁴⁸ Comparable examples of Asian cities making decisions for pragmatic reasons can be found in Trogus. He suggests that Aristonicus had a claim to the kingdom of his father, Attalus III. The only questionable matter was his illegitimate origins. However, Aristonicus' motivations may be compared with those of the Asian cities. They are said to have resisted his claim to the throne through their fear of Rome (36.4.6–7).

⁴⁹ For an example of the functional use of a litter for travel by a Roman in Attica itself, see Ser. Sulpicius Rufus' letter to Cicero (*Fam.* 253.3 SB = 4.12.3).

⁵⁰ On the feminine character of litters with feet of precious metals, compare Polyb. 30.25.18, where the women in Antiochus' procession are carried thus. Cicero, however, also effectively uses luxurious litters as a symbol of the Bithynian kings and thus as wholly inappropriate for a Roman governor (*Verr.* 5.27).

inappropriate honours. Their selfish base motivations are best seen in the following sentence: 'So they were running all together to this spectacle—men, women, children—expecting the best from Mithridates, when Athenion, the pauper, who had held subscription lectures, now because of the King farts his way arrogantly through town and country in escort' (Athen. 5.212C–D = Pos. F253 E–K = F36 Jac.).

Not all 'affection' for Mithridates is cloaked in terms of fear or greed, although those remain the dominant motivations in the historical narrative. For balance, we may consider Diodorus' comparison of the naval prowess of the Rhodians and the Cappadocians. He treats the Rhodians as superior in all matters except zeal and actual numbers of ships. The enthusiasm of the Cappadocians is attributed to the presence of the king; the Cappadocians are said to have been eager to demonstrate their loyalty to him (37.28). Even outside peoples might think positively of him. Trogus relates how the conflicts of the Syrian throne were ended when the people sought a foreign king as the next successor. The debate considered both Mithridates and Ptolemy. The former was rejected because of his war with the Romans, and the latter because of the perpetual enmity between the nations. Finally, Tigranes is proposed and accepted. Among his strengths are listed his alliances with Mithridates and the Parthians. This suggests that Mithridates' war with the Romans was only a drawback to the extent that he was otherwise occupied, not that joining him would inspire the hostility of the Romans (40.1).

More striking is the possibility that the Italians are likewise represented as soliciting his aid,⁵¹ and that friendly relations with Romans were also not out of the question. According to Diodorus, during the Social War the allied Italians even invited him to the peninsula. He responded that he would do so only once he had secured Asia (37.2.11). Likewise, as we saw at the beginning of this chapter, Posidonius has Athenion report an Italian embassy to Mithridates (Athen. 5.213C = F253 E–K = F36 Jac.). In 101 BC, when the tribune Saturninus attacked the ambassadors of Mithridates with the accusation of bribery, those ambassadors were strenuously defended by the

⁵¹ A. Mastrocinque, *Studi sulle guerre Mithridatiche* (1999), Part III, § 7, 'Mithridate e gli Italici', 41–4.

Roman Senate (Diod. 36.15.1). Even Sulla is represented as establishing an alliance with the king and receiving from him a navy with which to return to Italy (Diod. 38/9.6 and Mem. 25). It is even possible that Memnon records some men of Roman descent fighting on the Mithridatic side.⁵²

This extended treatment of Mithridates reflects the interest seen in the core authors in his rise to power and conflict with Rome. Two books of Memnon's original work seem to have dealt exclusively with this subject, even though his overall subject was the history of Heraclea Pontica. Likewise, a sizeable proportion of two books in Trogus is concerned with the king; the characterization of the king and his speech are some of the most elaborate surviving in the epitome. The longest surviving fragment from Posidonius addresses the theme. And it is clear that both Diodorus and Nicolaus treated the subject as well. Although Mithridates is at times given positive traits, his dominant characteristic is his enmity towards Rome.

As a final note we might look again at Trogus' account. His glorification of the king has been one of the points considered 'anti-Roman' in his text. This perception must be corrected. The introduction of the king in book 37 has typified him as an enemy of Rome, one who was defeated by the great generals, but arose again and again. This introduction is well supported by the surviving text. As discussed above, his initial expeditions are part of his characterization as an aggressor, especially in relation to eastern Asia Minor. Even though there is no explicit mention of Rome's control of the area, this control has been made clear through the earlier narrative of their acquisition of the region (36.4.6–37.1.5). The first mention of the Romans in the chronological account of Mithridates' career comes with his invasion of Paphlagonia in collaboration with Nicomedes, the king of Bithynia. When this act was reported to the Senate, they dispatched an embassy to both kings ordering them to desist. Trogus' description of Mithridates' response emphasizes his ambition and lack of regard for Roman authority:

⁵² 28.3 where the king makes Hermaius and Marius commanders of the infantry. This may be an illusion to Sertorius' sending of a general and counsellors to Mithridates (App. *Mith.* 68); however, Appian names the Romans as Marcus Varius, Magius Lucius, and Fannius Lucius. See P. O. Spann, *Quintus Sertorius and the Legacy of Sulla* (1987), 99–104.

Mithridates, believing that he was now a match for the greatness of Rome, gave the arrogant reply that the kingdom had come to his father as an inheritance; he was surprised, he said, that he should face difficulties in this regard when his father had not. Undaunted by Roman threats, he also seized Galatia... Ridiculed in this manner, the ambassadors returned to Rome. (Trog. 37.4.5–6 and 9)

It is clear that the author sees Mithridates' actions as being hostile and provocative. There is no indication that he has in fact acted justly or appropriately. It is the Roman embassy that has been wronged in the interchange, not Mithridates. This is another helpful guidepost. Although Trogus heroicized the king in many ways, he does not align his perspective with him instead of the Romans. Likewise, Trogus paints an image of Mithridates as carefully scheming to join in war with the Romans. 'Mithridates was eager to entice this man to join him in the war against Rome which he had long had in mind. Using the services of Gordius, therefore, he induced Tigranes, who had no idea that he might offend the Romans, to attack the indolent Ariobarzanes' (Trog. 38.3.1–2). There seems to be no reason for Trogus to choose to exonerate Tigranes thus from guilt, other than that such a position further heightens Mithridates' duplicity. This characterization of the king as methodically plotting his aggression against the Romans continues. He solidifies his alliance with Tigranes for the coming war, making the bargain that he will keep the territory, and the Armenian the movable goods.⁵³ Realizing the magnitude of the coming conflict, he collects allies from those he has carefully cultivated for just such a campaign: the Cimbri, the Gallograeci, the Sarmatae, and the Bastarnae. He mobilizes his forces out of Scythia and arms 'the whole of the East against the Romans' (38.3.5–7). Given all these points, the only possible interpretation of Trogus' Mithridates is as a worthy, even honourable, adversary for the Romans to defeat, not as a possible, or positive, alternative.

The 'Noble Savage'

Like Mithridates, there were other enemies whom it was also possible to admire and praise, even if they were not viable alternative leaders.

⁵³ It is interesting to compare these terms to those in the first treaty between Rome and the Aetolian League (*IG* ix², 2.241 = Sherck, *Augustus*, no. 2).

Similar to the kings who further exemplify the sorts of behaviour which are undesirable in a ruler—vices which already have been prophesied as Rome's own future in the theories of decline—the 'noble savage' provides a way of glorifying the simple past. The morality associated with primitive lifestyles was often glorified as the basis for Rome's own rise to power.

Viriathus

The best-developed character of this type was a natural-born leader from the mountains of Spain, who seems to have fired the imagination of many historians.⁵⁴ Diodorus' account is the most developed, and will form the cornerstone of our discussion.⁵⁵ Lusitanians were easy prey for Romans until Viriathus arrived on the scene. He is characterized by his physical prowess, which is also used to distance him from ordinary Iberians (33.1.1). Furthermore, right from the beginning of the narrative the Romans have been set in a position of ethnic superiority. The origin of Viriathus' prowess is attributed to environmental conditions and his mode of survival; proximity to the sea and mountain shepherding are given pride of place.⁵⁶ This led him to a minimum of basic needs and regular combat experience against beasts and brigands (33.1.2). He is also praised for his scrupulous division of spoils and fair treatment of those under his command (33.1.3). All this praise is restated again at the longer account of his betrayal and death (33.21–21a). It has been argued that he represents a contemporary philosophic ideal.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ It is interesting to note that he also fired the imaginations of nineteenth-century writers of historical fiction and drama, heroicized in much the same way as was Spartacus. L. F. Comella, *El mayor rival de Roma Viriato, drama trágico* (Barcelona, c. 1800); J. Dantas, (1876–1962), *Viriato trágico: comédia de capa e espada, em 5 actos* (Lisbon, n.d.); anon., *The Cave in the Hills; or, Cæcilius Viriathus* (London, 1859).

⁵⁵ For an alternative account of the Roman campaigns against Viriathus, see App. *Hisp.* 61–3, 65, 67–9, 70, 74–5. R. W. Bane, 'The Development of Roman Imperial Attitudes and the Iberian Wars', *Emerita* 44 (1976), 409–20, treats the campaigns in their historiographical context; see J. S. Richardson, *Hispaniae: Spain and the Development of Roman Imperialism, 218–82 BC* (1986), 126–55, for historical overview.

⁵⁶ M. L. A. García, 'Infancia, juventud y primeras aventuras de Viriato, caudillo lusitano', in G. P. Menaut (ed.), *Actas del i Congreso peninsular de historia antigua* (1988), ii., 373–82.

⁵⁷ T. J. Lens, 'Viriato, héroe y rey cínic', *Estudios de Filología griega* 2 (1986), 253–72, detects not only Cynic but also Stoic belief systems at work in Diodorus' text.

The story of Viriathus' wedding in Diodorus encompasses a discourse on his virtues and wisdom (33.7). First there is a great disdain for wealth, and Viriathus puts forth the opinion that wealth belongs to whoever holds the spear. This disdain is tied to his desire for self-sufficiency, which is exemplified by his lack of social graces (bathing and banqueting), but instead adherence to ritual, taking food only for sustenance, and then simply carrying off his bride. The virtue of restraint in the face of success is also seen in Trogus' short account (44.2.8). In the context of the wedding, Diodorus also put words of wisdom regarding political alliances into Viriathus' mouth. He questions his father-in-law, Astolpas, on why he abandoned the Romans, who allowed him such luxurious living, for Viriathus' own humble existence, the clear implication being that Astolpas made the wrong decision and Roman rule is to be desired, as they did not use their superior strength to wrest away property from their subjects.⁵⁸ Diodorus then praises his direct manner of speaking, as it derives from a lack of education. As yet another example of his wild wisdom, he recounts how Viriathus rebuked the people of Tucca for constantly changing sides between him and the Romans. However, Diodorus chooses a traditional fable as his rebuke, the same as that found in Phaedrus.⁵⁹ This is supposed to illustrate how Viriathus has gained wisdom and clarity of speech without education, although Diodorus defeats his purpose by suggesting that Viriathus could 'intuit' such a common didactic illustration.

Through such skills, Diodorus says, he rose by popular acclaim to the leadership of his people. The same informal method of appointment to rulership is seen in Trogus' account of Viriathus (44.2.7). Such a system for the selection of leaders is reminiscent of Polybius' theory of the origins of his constitutional cycle (6.5–6), thus suggesting a contrived narrative constructed for the author's own purposes.

⁵⁸ To this one might compare Diod. 34/5.30a, in which the [S]cordisci are presented as holding the plundering of others as a manly virtue, which is held up by Diodorus as an example of the natural law by which the strong ravage the weak.

⁵⁹ It tells the story of a man with two wives, one older, one younger; he goes bald because the one plucks his white hairs and the other his dark, as they both desire him to look more like themselves (*Fabulae Aesopiae*, 2.2).

The Roman generals against whom Viriathus fought are catalogued: Vetilius, Plautius, Fabius, and Caepio. The first he executed; the second returned home in disgrace, only to be exiled (Diod. 33.2); the third troubled him, but in the end was made to submit to a treaty 'unworthy of the Romans'; the fourth had him assassinated by his kinsmen.⁶⁰ Here is a skilled barbarian of unusual quality, but still it is not proper for the Romans to make peace with him. He is an exception to the rule: his own people acknowledge his outstanding qualities, yet cannot keep faith. In Trogus, only he remains restrained and simple after the victories; his soldiers end up better-dressed and armed than himself (44.2.8). His successor, Tautamus, cowers before the Roman commander. Moreover, he alone had held his people together; at his passing, Diodorus says that the confederacy disintegrated (33.21a).

Much earlier in the *Library*, in the ethnographic treatment of Spain, Diodorus gives us a telling account of his views on the inherent strength of the Lusitanians. He equates their physical prowess with the harsh land on which they live, and moreover, he says that this land allowed the Lusitanians to continue their habit of plundering even after being conquered by the Romans (5.34.7). This makes Viriathus that much more unusual. He was not only an exceptional leader, but he managed to suppress for a time his people's thieving instincts. Diodorus is enamoured with the concept of the honourable savage, but hesitates to stretch the portrayal of the individual to praise of the race.

Well-Behaved Rebels and Dignified Captives

The other uncivilized people who populate the histories as opponents of Rome are not nearly so attractive, but they are often given surprising acts of morality or dignity from which the audience is clearly supposed to learn. Often lessons have much to do with the correct use of power or the consequences of the abuse of power.

⁶⁰ W. Z. Rubinsohn, 'The Viriatic War and its Roman Repercussions', *RSA* 11 (1981), 161–204, argues that the psychological consequences of this war and the behaviour of the Romans made this the true beginning of the end for the Republic. The argument is engaging, but weakened by the insistence that this view of its significance derives from Polybius.

The peoples are selected primarily from the slave revolts, but also from wars in the west and north.

In Diodorus' account of the First Sicilian Slave Revolt, most of the participants, especially the leaders, are painted as charlatans and thugs, but at one point in Photius' summary of the initial revolt in Enna, the narrative stops and analyses their behaviour. The daughter of the 'cruellest master', Damophilus, had been well-behaved towards the slaves, and in response they protected her. 'Thereby it was demonstrated that the others were treated as they were, not because of some "natural savagery of slaves", but rather in revenge for wrongs previously received' (Diod. 34/5.2.13). All this is confirmed and echoed in greater detail in the Constantinian excerpts, which are usually accepted as verbatim copies of portions of the original as compared with Photius' looser habits (34/5.2.39–40). The sentiment on the impetus for the slaves' actions is also further expanded: 'even among slaves human nature needs no instructor in regard to a just repayment, whether of gratitude or of revenge' (Diod. 34/5.2.40). This passage does not use a generic term for slaves, but specifically *ὁ οἰκέτης*, which usually denotes a slave working in the home and (or) bred in the household. As household slaves were usually more 'civilized' in manner and language than those used for manual labour, this second platitude may be more conditional than the translation suggests. But even if Diodorus intended it to be conditional in some way, his ideas on the morality of the lower echelons of society at least applied to gladiators as well as domestic staff: 'The barbarian Spartacus, on receiving a certain favour from someone, showed him his gratitude. Indeed, nature is self-schooled, even among barbarians, to repay kindness for kindness to those who give assistance' (Diod. 38/9.21.1). Diodorus emphasized Spartacus' 'otherness' not with his servility as a gladiator, but instead with his barbarous ethnicity. This allows his lesson to resonate with his audience across a much broader spectrum of their experience.

Diodorus also contrasts the behaviour of the slaves and the free-born poor. The latter are said to have used the rebellion of the slaves as an excuse to plunder the estates of the wealthy, even though the slaves themselves did not act so wantonly but made provision for the future by preserving the agricultural stores and stock (34/5.2.48). Although this might be taken as a further idealization of the slaves, it

seems to reflect particularly poorly on the freeborn poor. We are thus reminded of elsewhere in the *Library* where Diodorus condemns the elevation of those with lower social status above their betters (34/5.25). Is his humane interpretation of the behaviour of the slaves then in conflict with his views on social hierarchies? It seems unlikely that his treatment of the slave revolts advocates equality, but instead attempts to identify unifying characteristics across the social hierarchy.

The one surviving fragment of Posidonius on the Sicilian Slave Revolts also mentions Damophilus (F59 E-K = F7 Jac.), but instead of focusing on his cruelty, the passage takes as its primary theme his extravagant luxury, calling him a 'slave' to his desires. He is said to have come to a violent end with his whole household, treated with extreme violence by the slaves. Here too there seems to be an implied connection between the behaviour of the master and his treatment at the hands of the slaves, but it is not so clear that it was a matter of answering cruelty and kindness in kind. Likewise, his fragment on the revolts of mining slaves in Attica (c.100 BC), an event contemporary to the Second Sicilian Revolt, preserves none of the 'humanity' of Diodorus' slaves (F262 E-K = F35 Jac.). Upon escaping they not only murdered their guards, but also seized the acropolis at Sunium and plundered the territory of Attica for an extended period of time. Is it only the brevity of the surviving fragments which hides Posidonius' philosophical interpretation of events?

The 'king' in Diodorus' account of the Second Sicilian Slave Revolt, Salvius, is at first coloured in much the same terms as his predecessor, Eunus, having a previous career distinguished by divination and dinner party entertainment (36.4.4). However, his leadership is then consistently illustrated in a positive light. He avoids cities, 'regarding them as the source of sloth and self-indulgence'; organizes those under his command; and focuses on procuring the resources necessary for success (36.4.5). He gains success in battle by practising the 'philanthropic' policy of sparing those who threw down their arms (36.4.7–8). His contemporary, Athenion, was likewise an astrologer and used this to build his following. He too is praised for his management and strategy; instead of accepting all who revolted he only took those fit for military service, ordering the rest to continue at farming and domestic tasks, thus providing food for

his army (36.5.2–3). By crediting such characters with effective leadership, Diodorus is not necessarily glorifying their low-born backgrounds or servile professions, but instead asserting truisms regarding successful rule. The message is that it *even* worked for slaves, implying how much more effective such practices could be when executed by appropriate rulers.

Two separate fragments of Diodorus, but adjoining in the Constantinian excerpts (34/5.4.1–2), treat in sympathetic terms the behaviour of ‘barbarians’ upon capture and enslavement. It is usually assumed that these were originally part of Diodorus’ account of the fall of Numantia (c. 133 BC), but the deeply generalizing style suggests that the original context was of little interest to Diodorus’ moral judgement. The first tells the story of a young boy who slew his three sisters as they lay sleeping, and when thwarted in his attempted suicide, explained to his captors that there was nothing left for which it was worth living. He accomplishes his own death by starvation. This might be compared with the end of the Second Sicilian Slave Revolt (36.10.3). Aquilius accepted the surrender of the last thousand slaves under Satyrus and brought them to Rome to be thrown to the beasts. They avoided this humiliation by killing each other before the altars, Satyrus slaying the last man before taking his own life. All this is presented as heroic behaviour. The second Diodorus passage is more elaborate, in that it presents both the barbaric action and the captors’ reaction. Here they mourn the loss of their land as they cross its boundaries, kissing the ground and gathering the dust. ‘Each man, touched by the emotions common to humankind, was overcome with a sense of divine awe as he perceived that even barbarians, brute-like in spirit though they were, when fortune broke the customary bond between them and their native land, did not forget their fond affection for the sod that reared them’ (Diod. 34/5.4.1–2). The identity of even the captors, just as that of the barbarians, is suppressed. Although it is likely that these men are Romans, Diodorus prefers to focus on the universality of their humanity. The patronizing tone used to describe the character of the barbarians suggests that Diodorus is not urging his readers towards revisionist thinking regarding the ‘us and them’ division of humanity. Instead, it is the captors with whom the audience is supposed to align themselves, to emulate their humane and reflective

reaction to pitiful sights. Notably, such a shift in perspective does not necessitate a shift in action.

Amongst all these 'noble savages', it is surprisingly difficult to find any barbarity at all. A single Thracian king stands alone with his son to represent the monstrous other, that is Diodorus' Diēgylis. The focus is on torture, but more specifically that which is imposed on Greek cities and in particular the sacrifice of two Greek youths (33.14–15). He is contrasted with Attalus, who gains the political advantage by broadcasting his mercy to those Thracians or any others who surrendered to him. His son, Ziselmus, is similarly portrayed (Diod. 34/5.12). Beyond basic slaughter and torture, the ultimate anecdote of horrendous behaviour describes the butchery of children before their parents, followed by the preparation of their flesh as food, which was then forced upon their nearest kin. Diodorus draws the obvious mythological parallel of Tereus and Thyestes. If one subscribes to a theory in which myths encapsulate the fears and morality of a society, then it is possible to connect Diodorus' use of mythological parallels with a desire to emphasize the 'anti-Hellenic' aspects of the behaviour.

How do we bring this discussion of 'savages' back full circle to the Romans? In many cases it can be a simple matter of didacticism. Yet when we hear of the horrors committed during the slave revolts and the gruesome nature of a certain culture, it is hard not to see in the historians a more basic message: it could be worse than the Romans. The fascination with marauding Gauls and other migrant peoples reminds the audience that no portion of the Mediterranean is truly safe. At times it is even tempting to read a stronger morality within the text, one suggesting that the Romans are part of the corrective solution to the feared barbarians, as well as the corruption of kings. We can see traces of this in the Posidonian fragment which discusses the disturbing custom of preserving and displaying the heads of one's dead enemies among the Celts. He reassures his reader that 'the Romans put a stop to these customs as well as to those connected with sacrifice and divination contrary to our accepted practice' (Pos. F274 E-K = F55 Jac.).⁶¹ We hear a further echo of this sentiment

⁶¹ As so often with fragments from sources constructing their own narrative, it is difficult to be confident that this comment, coming as it does at the end of a fragment, is actually from Posidonius instead of Strabo.

regarding the changes introduced to 'primitive' cultures by the arrival of Rome in Diodorus' comments on the ethnography of the Ligurians. Early on he draws comparison between various Roman and Ligurian practices. However, at the end of the passage he says simply, 'now that they have been incorporated in the Roman state, they have changed the type of their weapons, adapting themselves to their rulers' (5.39.7).

The ideal measure of significance of these narratives would be the potential impact on the intended audience, be that the Roman or non-Roman elite. Given the available evidence, we must be satisfied with the reconstruction of the probable intentions behind the material at hand. The material covered in the initial section of this chapter, the denouncements of Rome by her enemies, is a valuable companion to the authorial condemnations of the enemies of Rome in the latter sections. Together with the material presented in chapter four on theories of decline at Rome, the denouncements communicate the authors' awareness of potential criticisms of Rome, characteristics that are linked to the loss of military prowess and political authority. This imbues the condemnation of Rome's rivals on similar ground with particular significance for a Roman audience. For those in the provinces, the message is once again pragmatic. Rome may not be a perfect ruling force—far from it. Yet there is no viable alternative. The brutality and erratic nature of the Hellenistic kings makes them undesirable overlords. Those few brave 'savages' who would resist Roman aggression perish for their dignity. Rome can offer stability if those in the provinces are willing to cooperate.

Conclusion

The authors at the core of this analysis—Nicolaus, Memnon, Diodorus, Trogus, Posidonius, and the author of 1 Maccabees—are from geographically diverse origins on the periphery of the Roman world. Nevertheless, scrutiny of their texts has brought to light significant thematic cohesion: all accept Roman rule. This open and clear acknowledgement of Roman hegemony throughout the Mediterranean basin may not seem surprising given the political and military realities of the day. However, in contrast to the scholarly trends towards identifying this type of literature as hostile to the new ruling power, I would emphasize the clear acceptance of Roman rule as the foremost conclusion of my preceding analysis.

The manifestations and nuances of this capitulation to Roman hegemony in these texts have occupied the great portion of this book. Of course, each author and his individual text has unique components, but there is still a great deal to be learnt from a collective treatment of these peripheral writers and their perspectives. The implicit justifications for the full acceptance of Roman hegemony is remarkably similar in each of the core texts. Three categories, which are by no means mutually exclusive, can comfortably delineate these justifications: the benefits Rome may bestow, the dangers of resistance, and the lack of viable alternatives. Perhaps the overt optimism behind the first category inspired the core authors to supply greater diversity of examples and nuances of presentation than in their treatments of the latter two.

The types of benefits most regularly highlighted by the historians are the tangible results for kingdoms, cities, and individuals of supporting Rome. Not surprisingly, the backgrounds of the

historians dictate to some degree which of these subjects they describe. For example, Memnon, the local historian from Heraclea, emphasizes the benefits to his own city, when he describes how the support of Julius Caesar allowed the Heracleans to re-found their city after the disastrous events of the Mithridatic Wars. Nicolaus illustrates the potential benefits from Rome for both client kings and individual intellectuals. As the court historian of Herod, he is explicit in his statements of Rome's endorsement of Herod's claim to the throne of Judea, but in those writings which postdate Herod's death it is clear that he also emphasizes his own ability to cultivate a position of influence in Rome itself, advising Augustus on key points of foreign policy. Trogus and Diodorus do not have such apparently strong connections to specific communities, or personal political ambitions within Roman circles. They reflect Roman rule on a larger scale, recording how exemplary governors and generals could shape their provinces for the benefit of the provincial peoples by fostering military security, fair judiciary process, and political stability.

That this reflection of the utility of Roman rule is not just a sycophantic concession to an oppressive overlord is perhaps best seen in the example of 1 Maccabees. Its overall compliance with the conventions of earlier biblical writings clearly indicates that it was not written with a Roman audience in mind. Yet, equally clearly, it incorporates Rome into its narrative as a further means of emphasizing the power and legitimacy of the Hasmonaean dynasty. This perspective on Roman authority as an external means of solidifying an existing internal power structure is key to understanding capitulation to Roman rule not only among the client kingdoms on the frontiers of the empire, but also among the *poleis* of the Hellenic region. Of course, it benefited Rome to have the cooperation of the local political leaders, as it minimized the administrative and defensive burden, but the core authors confirm that those local political leaders appreciated and even sought out the vital backing of the Romans to retain their local and regional authority.

Although few of the authors dwell at great length on the consequences of resisting Roman rule, none disguise the violent and harsh responses visited by the Romans on their rivals and rebellious communities. Trogus reports the harsh ultimatums to Hellenistic monarchs; Diodorus gives a pathetic treatment of the trapped position of

Italic communities during the Social War; and Memnon does not balk from describing the punitive measures visited on Heraclea after they sided with Mithridates. Roman decisions are not represented as random or illogical, but the historians do not seem to expect their audience necessarily to share the same code of practice or standard of behaviour.

These 'official' Roman acts of violence or punitive policies should not be confused with those portions of the histories in which the authors expound on the failings of individual Romans. When the authorial voice in the histories condemns the behaviour of a particular Roman there is invariably a distinction made between the will of the Roman state and the actions of the individual. Memnon acknowledges that the Romans intended to neutralize Heraclea because of its acceptance of a Mithridatic garrison within the city walls, but the behaviour of Cotta, particularly the pillaging of the temples and the enslavement of the population, is shown to have been contrary to the wishes of the Senate. The wisdom of the state overrules and corrects the failings of the individual. Even in domestic affairs we find Diodorus suggesting that the violent ends of the Gracchi were natural consequences of their attempts to upset the appropriate balance of power within the Roman state.

The lack of desirable, or viable, alternatives to Roman rule was made explicit in the last chapter of this book, which discussed representations of the enemies of Rome. Those enemies who receive even a partially glorified treatment in the history of the core authors were those who had been effectively neutralized by Roman military action. The positive nature of the treatment of these Roman rivals was designed not as a criticism of ruling power, but instead as a means of further emphasizing the superior and pervasive quality of Roman military hegemony.

Through these three categories these peripheral authors demonstrate their acceptance of Roman rule. As the preceding chapters of my book have shown, these categories are only a subset of the innumerable points at which the core authors have overlapping thematic characterizations of the Roman people and individual commanders. All these points are only further confirmation of the overarching acceptance, and even endorsement, of Roman imperial power.

I have already alluded to how the political affiliations of Memnon, Nicolaus, and the author of 1 Maccabees influenced how they interpreted the utility of accepting Roman hegemony, but a more holistic vision can be offered for not just these, but all the core authors. Consideration of the core authors as individual intellectuals and representatives of the provincial elite allows us to appreciate the true significance of the thematic cohesion of their disparate and varied textual compositions.

In the introductory discussion and first chapter I demonstrated how a strong connection between intellectual activity and political centres of power characterized the late Hellenistic period and the final years of the Roman Republic; this trend, of course, continued throughout the Imperial period as well. This cultural background allowed us to presuppose some political influence for our core authors and a potentially politically influential audience for the texts they produced. The testimony on the individual historians is as relevant to our inquiry as the fragments themselves. Each is worth briefly revisiting in turn.

The most fragmentary of the core authors, Posidonius, ironically is also the subject for the most extensive external testimony. The *reliquiae* of Posidonius' contemporary history have been able to provide only limited reference points for our thematic discussion. This very limitation, however, underlines the critical need for a careful methodological approach to incomplete textual traditions, an inherent problem when attempting to recover contemporary peripheral perspectives. By contrast, the extensive testimony on the eminent political position of Posidonius within his adopted community of Rhodes, his status as the leading Stoic of his age, and the preferential, even deferential, treatment he received from the leading Romans of his day fires our historical imagination as to the potential influence of his writings. Cicero would not have sought him out to embroider the historical account of his consulship, unless such a treatment was likely to benefit his shaky political position in the years after his fateful execution of the Catilinarian conspirators. We would not try to deny the political significance of Cicero's own reformulation of the memory of his consulship through the publication of his speeches, his *commentarii* on the subject, and even his verse compositions. Consequently, we must also accept

that the potential treatment of such subject matter by contemporaries in the provinces is equally politically significant. In this instance Posidonius prudently declined to wade in on this controversial aspect of Roman domestic politics, but he was by no means one to avoid opinionated statements regarding contemporary Roman affairs; in his histories, he accused Apicius, the prosecutor of his former pupil, Rutilius, of exceeding all men in profligacy.

With 1 Maccabees we have almost the reversal of our situation with Posidonius; instead of rich testimony and little text, we have apparently a complete original text, but no external, or even internal, direct testimony on the author. This anonymity actually accentuates the influence of the text. By mimicking earlier compositions that had come to have particular religious resonance, like the Book of Kings from the Old Testament, the author actively encourages his audience to align his writing with that said to be inspired by divine influence. Although 1 Maccabees is nearly devoid of supernatural elements in the narrative or overt statements of intent, it clearly attaches religious significance to the events being recorded. It was clearly read and reinterpreted by near-contemporaries within the wider community of the Diaspora, as demonstrated by 2 Maccabees. Its dominant themes and messages were brought into the traditional of Hellenistic history through the writings of Josephus, and may well have been known to Nicolaus. Moreover, 1 Maccabees has remained in the general corpus of religious writings for the Judaeo-Christian tradition and is further validated by the continuing annual celebration of Chanukah in the Jewish tradition. 1 Maccabees reminds us that a text composed on the periphery of the Roman empire may have powerful, even political, consequences even though its target audience remains primarily on the fringes. No Roman was ever intended to appreciate its laudatory treatment of Roman hegemony, but this message resonated and influenced the community in which it originated. Nicolaus' use of Rome to justify Herod's rule is a fitting culmination of the objective of 1 Maccabees to legitimate the foundation of the Hasmonaean dynasty.

Trogus' unique choice to compose a history in Latin, but emulating the genre, themes and subject matter of histories written by Greeks, is a more powerful statement of the consequences of Roman conquest than any explicit statement about Roman's univer-

sal empire. Although Trogus was a third-generation Roman citizen, he was from one of those few families from the western Mediterranean that were enfranchised for service in the Roman military. He continued to identify with his regional origins in Gallia Narbonensis, apparently influenced by the intellectual tradition of the Greek colony of Massilia. Trogus' comfort with his simultaneous allegiance to Rome and his provincial homeland echoes Cicero's willingness to acknowledge that a Roman might have two homelands, his Italic community of origin and Rome itself (*leg.* 2.5), and foreshadows the eventual successful incorporation of provincials into the Roman Senate itself, as demonstrated by such individuals as Cassius Dio of Bithynia. As to Trogus' histories, his choice of language indicates he was writing for a western Mediterranean audience, while the subject matter emphatically underlines the relevance of the eastern Mediterranean to that audience. The linking element is Rome. Moreover, he regularly emphasizes the ineffectuality of earlier empires, and while acknowledging the rivalry of the Parthians for domination, clearly indicates that Roman rule is preferable to that of such Eastern dynasts. Trogus reminds us that Latin is a language of both centre and periphery and that citizenship did not alienate the holder from the perspective of his provincial origins.

As another western provincial, Diodorus also demonstrates how the Roman empire brought a further alignment of eastern and western Mediterranean perspectives. While Trogus seems to contextualize the unification of the Mediterranean under Rome in part through pre-existing cultural connections, as typified by communities like Massilia, Diodorus makes explicit the long historic connections between the communities of Sicily and Italy and the Greek mainland. Nevertheless, Diodorus does not try to 'grecify' Rome or the West in general; he is proud to claim mastery of Latin, even if some doubt the veracity of his assertion. Diodorus also appears to be unique in the degree to which he emphasizes the connection between Roman domestic politics and provincial lives. While other authors are conscious of the moments when civil war spills into foreign locales and when alliances with particular Romans become decisive in provincial lives, Diodorus tries to explain how the machinations of popular tribunes or senatorial rivalries affect the stability of the empire as a whole. This type of message seems to have a particularly

Roman audience in mind. And, if we may believe Diodorus' own testimony, while he was composing in the city of Rome his reading public was so avid for his publication that early drafts were circulated before the author had time revise the manuscript as he desired. Diodorus is a provincial who feels at home among Romans and among Greeks. His vast library of history tries to demonstrate the close alignment of the interests of each, just as his chronological structure attempts to align Olympiads and consular years so as to provide a familiar framework for either audience. He sees himself standing between centre and periphery, explaining one to the other; when enumerating the beliefs of the Egyptians in a traditional ethnographic style, it is no accident that he selects a powerful contemporary example he himself witnessed, the prosecution of Romans for the killing of a cat (c.60 BC).

Nicolaus, with his knowledge of both Greek and Semitic intellectual traditions and with his strong awareness of a potential Roman audience, can also be seen as straddling, even transcending, cultural boundaries, as was discussed in chapter two. However, like Posidonius, he too is more useful for his biographical testimony than his fragmentary remains. We know that his universal history with its contemporary narratives was composed at the express request of Herod. Like Cicero's soliciting of Posidonius, this testimony confirms our understanding of history writing as a powerful political vehicle, of interest to peripheral leaders as well as to the Romans themselves. Nicolaus' choice, and ability, to relocate after Herod's death to Rome and the sphere of eminent politicians there confirm that those writing for provincial audiences could also find listeners in the centre of political power. One man was capable of composing a universal history combining Greek mythology and biblical legends, and then proceeding to write a narrowly focused biography of the new Princeps, based on Roman sources. More significantly, both these types of texts were relevant to both peripheral and central audiences. His biography of Augustus explained the new power construct at Rome to the Greek-speaking East in terms far more accessible than, say, the translations of the *Res Gestae*, while the universal history allowed Herod to illustrate for his Roman overlords that the traditions of the Jewish people ultimately were compatible with the wider Hellenistic traditions.

The core authors, even with their meagre surviving fragments, hint at the rich production of politically relevant literature throughout the last years of the Republic. That the Romans were receptive to these peripheral voices is clearly demonstrated in the writing of Cicero. He provides ample evidence of his own expectation to be edified by historical compositions. In the turmoil leading up to his exile, Cicero credits his reading of history, and other genres, for giving him a wariness of false friendships (*Att.* 40.1 SB = 2.20.1; c.mid-July 59). Although it would be easy to dismiss this turn of phrase as a simple platitude, the true significance of the passage is to reveal that Cicero's understanding of the didacticism of history is so ingrained. Likewise, we have Cicero's lengthy advice to his brother to model his rule in Asia upon Xenophon's historical account of Cyrus' reign (1.23 SB = 1.1.23; cf. 2.7 SB = 1.2.7). He reinforces his advice by attributing a similar habit to Scipio Aemilianus, the implication being that successful Roman commanders followed historical examples written by the Greeks. This advice is particularly noteworthy, in that Cicero clearly differentiates between a past historical reality and the narrative constructed by the historian, and it is that latter which is to be preferred for its educative value.

In a similar context we might also note that Cicero advises his brother to give particular consideration to the complaints of the Greeks, as their opinions carry more weight than a Roman might presume (2.4 SB = 1.2.4). This is particularly valuable confirmation that there was a contemporary interest in preserving the goodwill of the provincials among the Roman ruling class. During Cicero's own period of provincial administration in Cilicia, he took pride in reducing the financial burdens on provincials, and would only accept verbal expressions of thanksgiving (*Att.* 114.7 SB = 5.21.7; 13 Feb. 50). He even purports to care more about what the historical record has to say regarding his actions than he does about the opinions of contemporaries (*Att.* 25.1 SB = 2.5.1 and 37.2 SB = 2.17.2; Apr. and May 59).

Perhaps more convincing are those statements made in his public speeches, instead of to intimates in his private letters, as we can infer that Cicero believes this wider audience to acknowledge the validity of his assertions. In the *Pro Plancio* Cicero justifies his change of political stance to one which favours Caesar by turning to the

precedents offered by history as to the wisdom of judging each situation individually, as opposed to holding to single dogmatic line (34.94; 54 BC). For our purposes it is of particular note that he makes explicit that his precedents come not only from Rome, but from foreign communities as well. Therefore, as Cicero clearly felt, he and his contemporaries among the leading men of Rome were edified by the lessons of history and attempted to preserve their reputation among contemporary provincials and in the future historical record.

Whether any specific historical passage led to any particular change in political policy during the last years of the Roman Republic and the formation of the Principate must remain a matter of conjecture. However, there can be no doubt that there was a wealth of political ideas embedded not only in historical writing, but also in all other intellectual products. There can also be no doubt regarding the existence of a social structure throughout the empire which allowed for a shared participation in intellectual pursuits among the elite from Rome, the provinces, and the client kingdoms. The fruit of this intellectual union of cultures was to ripen within the political context of the Principate in what has become known as the Second Sophistic.

Appendix: Issues of Dating

From the beginning this project was conceived around temporal limitations. The end of Polybius' narrative with the destruction of Carthage and Corinth in 146 BC supplied the starting point and the death of Augustus in AD 14 is a convenient marker for the end of the period of transition into the Principate. However, the dates of core authors and their compositions have inspired scholarly debate.

1 Maccabees

The primary method of dating the text of 1 Maccabees has been based on identifying a period which is appropriate for the ideas expressed therein. Some theories regarding the ideology common to a specific period are more reliable guidelines than others. My inclination, when working with such subjective evidence, is to err on the side of caution, favouring a wider period based on multiple indicators rather than a narrow band suggested by any one passage or quality. The widest possible band for the dating of 1 Maccabees stretches from the succession of John Hyrcanus following the murder of Simon and his son in 134 BC to Pompey's capture of Jerusalem in 63 BC. The first is the last specific event mentioned in the text. As for the second, it is inconceivable that a text so friendly to and yet so unconcerned with the Romans could have been written by such an ardent supporter of an independent Jewish state after that date. A date after 90 BC is usually excluded because statements regarding the internal harmony and unfailing military strength of the Romans would become grossly inappropriate during the Social and Civil Wars and the conflicts with Mithridates. In general, the later one places the composition the more absurd the errors regarding Rome become—as Rome became enmeshed in the affairs of Asia Minor and the surrounding territories, it is more unbelievable that a writer in or around

Jerusalem could have such a poor understanding of the Roman constitution. Even more exact dates have been hypothesized. Momigliano suggested that the statements regarding Rome would be inappropriate after the Roman acquisition of Pergamum, and therefore he dates the book to the first years of John Hyrcanus' reign, c.133 BC.¹ Goldstein, on the other hand, finds the formulaic statement regarding the record of the details of John's reign in the chronicle of the High Priesthood (16.23–4) indicative of John's death, dating the work to the era of his successor Alexander Jannaeus, so between 104 and 90 BC, even hypothesizing the specific period in which Alexander renounced the title 'king' so as to make those passages in 1 Maccabees which seem 'anti-regal' harmonious with the supposed prevailing political trend.² Personally, I feel that the reign of John Hyrcanus is more likely, not only for the Roman evidence, but because the book clearly intends to justify the Hasmonaeen dynasty. In this context, the book can be taken as support for the legitimacy of John, but not necessarily for Alexander. Moreover, Alexander had Hellenistic sympathies, as indicated by his name and the bilingual coinage he produced, and these sympathies seem removed from the attitudes expressed in 1 Maccabees. The formulaic statement on John's accomplishments need not have been inspired by his death, but reflects an urge to allude in a positive manner to the present ruler, even though it was not customary to write historical eulogies of rulers during their lifetimes, but instead to finish historical writings with the preceding ruler.

Posidonius

His dates are usually given as c.135 to c.51 BC, but while the range is plausible, these specific dates are derived from minimal and dubious testimonia (Kidd, *Comm.*, 8). I find Kidd's speculation that a word for dying is missing from the *Suda* (2107) testimonium in connection with Posidonius' visit to Rome during the consulship of Marcus Marcellus questionable, but agree that it supplies a plausible *terminus post quem* for the date of his death. Malitz associates this Marcellus not with the consul, but with M. Claudius Marcellus (*RE* 226), Marius' legate, and uses it to date Posidonius' initial visit to Rome and the west to the 90s BC.³ Lacking firm evidence, it

¹ A. Momigliano, 'The Date of the First Book of Maccabees' in *L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine* (1976), 657–61 [= Momigliano, *Sesto contributo*, 561–6].

² J. Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (1976), 62–4.

³ J. Malitz, *Die Historien des Poseidonios* (1983), 13–14, esp. n. 73, following U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (1931–2), ii.397.

seems more logical to assume that a consul's, not a legate's, name would be used as an indication of time.

The terminus points for Posidonius' composition have also been a matter of much speculation.⁴ It is in *Suda*, and from these testimonia alone, that we read that the *Histories* were 52 books in length and came after Polybius.⁵ It also says that the *Histories* ended with the Cyrenaic war and Ptolemy, though these descriptions have never been satisfactorily correlated with known events. These 'facts', especially the statement of length and relationship to Polybius, have been taken at face value and used extensively to reconstruct an outline of the text. Most of the scholarly attention has been focused on the endpoint of the histories, given the obscurity of the reference to the Cyrenaic War and other issues, but before coming to the end, some thought should be given to the opening of the *Histories*.

The strength of the belief in a connection between Polybius' project and that of Posidonius has led to such imprudent statements as 'there is no problem about the starting date of the *History*',⁶ although the evidence for it is no more reliable than the much-disputed endpoint. On the believability of 145 bc for the starting date of the work, as the phrase 'ιστορίαν τὴν μετὰ Πολύβιον' is usually read, the datable fragments which are said to have come from the *Histories* mostly fall after that date, except for a reference to Pythionice's funeral c.325/4 bc. The historical fragments attributed to Posidonius but not to any specific work include references to Alexander, Marcellus' exploits in the late third century, and references to the Hannibalic War. Of course, it is likely that the *Histories* included many digressions referring to events before and after the main narrative. Part of the scholarly inclination to see Posidonius continuing Polybius' work must be inspired by the fact that Polybius himself claims to be carrying on from the point at which Timaeus' narrative of Western affairs ends (1.5). There is something comforting in a continuous reliable historical record written by individuals who are near-contemporaries to the events themselves. And, of course, there were earlier precedents like Xenophon's continuation of Thucydides.

⁴ E. Ruschenbusch, 'Der Endpunkt der Historien des Poseidonios', *Hermes* 121 (1993), 70–6; M. C. Tedesco, 'Ancora sul termine delle Storie di Posidonio: rassegna di studi', in I. Gallo (ed.), *Seconda miscellanea filologica* (1995), 91–103; E. Pozzi, 'Sopra il termine estremo della storia di Posidonio di Apamea', *RFIC* 41 (1913), 58–67. Kidd, *Comm.*, 5, rejects Pozzi's suggestion that ἕως τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Κυρηναικοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου should be referred to the Αἰβυκά of Posidonius of Olbia.

⁵ T1a E–K = T1 Jac. = *Suda* 2107–10, esp. 2108. ἔγραψεν ἱστορίαν τὴν μετὰ Πολύβιον ἐν Βιβλίοις νθ ἕως τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Κυρηναικοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου. Chapter two devotes some discussion to the reliability of the *Suda*.

⁶ Kidd, *Comm.*, 278.

Leaving the beginning, some statement of the end must be cobbled together from a wealth of modern opinions. Besides the puzzling testimony of the *Suda* regarding 'the Cyrenaic War and Ptolemy',⁷ it also gives a tempting number of books for the work as a whole. The danger lies in the corruptibility of numerals in any manuscript tradition. However, that there is a fragment from book 49 makes a length of 52 books seem reasonable. Another fragment (F51 E–K = F38 Jac.), without a surviving book number, contains the latest datable event known to have been treated in the *Histories*: Mithridates' punishment of the Chians in 86 BC,⁸ and even if there were a surviving book number there is no guarantee that the histories were chronologically structured, as was made clear in chapter three.

Diodorus

See chapter two for a discussion of his datable biographical details and the intended and actual endpoint of his *Library*. Sacks, in his review of Botteri's *Les Fragments de l'histoire des Gracques*, provides an insightful critique of her acceptance of the *Suda*'s claim that he lived in the age of Augustus and beyond, even though internal evidence suggests an adult life of 60–30 BC. Sacks's answer is that the *Library* was extended by a later writer, and he points to Photius' summary, which goes at least to the end of Augustus' reign, and suggests that Joannis Tzetzes was also using the extended version. Sacks believes the extender was working after the third century AD because of a reference to the rank of *illustris*.

Trogus

See chapter two for a discussion of his biographical details. He was clearly working in the age of Augustus as his father was Julius Caesar's secretary and the latest datable event mentioned in the text is the surrendering of hostages by the Parthians in 10 BC (43.5.12).

⁷ Kidd, *Comm.*, 278–80, gives an extended discussion to just how inconclusive this reference really is when compared to known historical events; he also treats the views of the major German commentators, Malitz and Theiler.

⁸ P. Desideri, 'Posidonio e la Guerra Mitridatica', *Athenaeum* 61 (1973), 1–29, 237–69.

Nicolaus

Much scholarly effort has been expended towards the identification of the exact dates for each of Nicolaus' compositions.⁹ While the dates must remain obscure, the political climate and literary tradition in which he composed are both discernible and have already been treated at length. See the case study in chapter one for an extended discussion.

Memnon

It was Photius' habit to include biographical details in his discussion of each author, but he has nothing to say in this regard about Memnon; nor are there any autobiographical notes preserved within the extract. Even the identification of Memnon as a Heracleian is only an assumption based on the strong local patriotism evident throughout his history of that city. However, to begin to discuss Memnon's writing it seems essential to form some idea of when he might have written. The last datable event suggested in the history is Caesar's travels, presumably those in the east before his return to Rome in 47 BC, at the close of book 16. If we could be confident that book 16 was the end of *History*, it might be tempting to see Memnon as writing shortly thereafter. However, the testimony of Photius is unclear; at the end of his analysis of the style of the work, he confesses, 'I have not yet had in my sight the first eight books of the histories or those after the sixteenth, so as to say what they contained' (40.5). Jacoby imagined that Memnon followed the convention of many classical historians of ending each book with a summary of its contents and an announcement of the events to be treated in the next (*Comm.*, 267); and therefore Photius' second statement would have been inspired by his reading of a list of events to be covered in book seventeen. This assumption cannot be supported. It seems safer to assume Photius was faced with no conclusion at the end of book sixteen to indicate that the history had finished, but no positive indication of its continuation either. However, the death of the senior Heracleian statesman, Bithagoras, just before the return of Caesar to Rome in 47 BC, seems to be an awkward moment to drop the curtain on a history of Heraclea. Memnon must have known about some of the Roman decisions which deeply affected Heraclea

⁹ M. Toher, 'The Terminal Date of Nicolaus' Universal History', *The Ancient History Bulletin* 1 (1987), 135–8; and 'The Date of Nicolaus' *Βίος Καίσαρος*', *GRBS* 26 (1985), 199–206. Toher is optimistic regarding the precision with which these texts may be dated, but the premises of his arguments are not without weaknesses. He supplies thorough bibliography for the ongoing debate.

over the next generation (cf. Strabo 12.3.6). Roman settlers came to the site of Heraclea, as an unofficial colony. Then the part of the city still held by the Heracleans was given by Antony to a tetrarch of the Galatians, Adiatrix, who attacked the Roman settlers before the battle of Actium. After Actium, the tetrarch and his son were led in Augustus' triumph, and presumably Augustus made some resolution regarding Heraclea's status—it is said to have been made part of the Pontic and Bithynian province. Such a point would have been a far more logical conclusion to any history of the city. Little else is known regarding Heraclea's later history, though it continued to mint a civic coinage and produce inscriptions well into the Imperial period.¹⁰

Moving beyond direct testimony and content, there are other ways of approximating the date of a text. Vocabulary and style may both provide some indication of date. I have by no means completed a systematic survey of Memnon's vocabulary and have no expertise in such matters, but in the course of producing a translation a few trends became apparent.¹¹ None of the more unusual words is of later origin, suggesting, among other things, that Photius did not make substantial changes to the words he found in his copy of the original. Nor was the vocabulary particularly 'Attic' or of such a style to suggest a classicizing trend which might date the text to the Second Sophistic. In addition to this general observation might be added the use of *λυσιτέλεια* (35.6), a word meaning 'advantage' or 'profit' which is rejected by the two second-century Atticists, the grammarians Pollux (5.136) and Moeris (Poll. p. 248 P., Phot.). Of course it would be possible that an author writing on the fringes, instead of in an intellectual community, would show none of the hallmarks of the dominant tradition, be that the Second Sophistic or any other literary trend. Points at which the rarity of either a specific term or word usage might be used to indicate a period of composition show parallels with Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Josephus. A few examples include the use of *φθόρος* (destruction, ruin, death) instead of the more common *φθόρα*, which may be compared with Polybius;¹² or the use of another Polybian word which is also common in Josephus, *διαρπαγή* (plundering);¹³ the employment of the passive participle of *ἀντανάγω* used with a

¹⁰ L. Jonnes, *The Inscriptions of Heraclea Pontica* (1994), provides the best collection of primary sources. Chapter 3, while not comprehensive, offers a wide range of fragments of testimonia on the city from literary sources. Chapter 4 is a partial text and translation of Memnon; Jonnes leaves out any section or sentence of the text which he feels does not further the reader's understanding of the city itself. There is virtually no surviving epigraphy from the pre-Imperial period.

¹¹ The following discussion is drawn from the data provided in the LSJ.

¹² Cf. Mem. 35.6 with Polyb. 3.51.3.

¹³ Cf. Mem. 35.6 with Polyb. 10.16.6 and Joseph AJ 6.120 and 122; 8.294; 9.40, 82 and 84; 12.267; 19.93.

word for ship in the dative (putting the ships to sea for an attack), which is comparable to Diodorus Siculus;¹⁴ and the use of *κατάφορτος* (laden, burdened), which can be put alongside a similar use in Josephus.¹⁵

There is also his use of *αὐτοκράτωρ*, as discussed in chapter four. It is hard to imagine someone writing in the Imperial period in the Greek East who would not strongly associate *αὐτοκράτωρ* with the title of the emperor: the word was a part of the vocabulary used in political discourse, especially on public monuments and coin legends. An Imperial writer would most probably not be inclined to use the word casually of men in the Republican period, unless employing it as a specific title. Thus Memnon's use of *αὐτοκράτωρ* may hint that it would be inappropriate to date his text far into the Imperial period.

None of this evidence for Memnon's date is conclusive and most modern writers refuse to assign him to any specific period, though estimates range from the time of Julius Caesar to well into the second century AD. I feel that the early Augustan period would best fit the evidence presented here, but a later date cannot be excluded.

¹⁴ Cf. Mem. 37.2 with Diod. 13.71.

¹⁵ Cf. Mem. 36.1 with Joseph *Vit.* 26. In this context we might also want to consider the use of *οἰκετικῶν σώματα* in *IG* 12(5).653.25 (Syros) and *PGrenf.* 1.21.6 (second century BC) with Mem. 40.2.

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Index Locorum

APPIAN

Civil Wars

1.3.25: 213

1.28: 11 n. 18

1.38: 217 n. 72

Mithridatic Wars

46-7: 321

51-2: 246

54-8: 245, 249 n. 11

55: 250

58: 250, 288 n. 5

64: 249 n. 11

68: 332 n. 52

78: 37 n. 44

20-1: 323 n. 37

21: 323 n. 38

22-3: 324 n. 40

103: 181

112: 323 n. 38

265: 190 n. 35

Sicilian Wars

6.1: 252 n. 13

Spanish Wars

61-3: 334 n. 55

65: 334 n. 55

67-9: 334 n. 55

70: 334 n. 55

74-5: 334 n. 55

Syrian Wars

67: 314

ARRIAN

Anabasis

7.15.5-6: 142 n. 18

BIBLE

1 Maccabees

1.10: 131, 135, 136

5.18-19: 133

5.55-62: 133

5.61-2: 134

7.1: 136

8: 189 n. 31

8.1: 239

8.11-12: 239

8.13: 137, 264

8.14: 137, 169

8.14-16: 187

8.18: 264

8.2: 137

8.22-30: 268

8.29: 265 n. 30

8.21-32: 261

8.3: 137

8.4: 137

8.7: 137

8.8: 137

8.9-10: 137

10.67: 306

11.20-37: 306

11.38-40: 306

11.44-50: 306

11.51: 306

11.53: 306

11.9-19: 306

12.1-17: 262

12.4: 261

12.5-17: 261

12.9-10: 136, 262

BIBLE (*Cont.*):

14.18-19: 261, 262
 14.20-3: 261, 262
 14.25: 257 n. 18
 14.25-45: 265
 14.38-40: 306
 14.40: 265
 15: 299 n. 15
 15.1-13: 307
 15.22: 307
 15.15-24: 261
 15.32-36: 307
 15.38-41: 307
 15.26-31: 307
 16.23-4: 352
 2 Maccabees
 4.11: 264 n. 29, 266
 8.10: 266
 8.36: 266
 11.34: 266
 Acts
 14:11: 95 n. 46
 21:27-28:31: 93
 21:37: 93
 21:39: 93
 22:1: 93
 21:40: 93
 22:2: 93
 22:3: 93
 22:25: 93
 Daniel
 2:26-45: 174 n. 11
 Deuteronomy
 7:2: 136
 Exodus
 32:23-33: 136
 Joshua
 9:3-27: 136
 Mark
 7:26: 93 n. 41

Matthew

15:22: 93 n. 41

Romans

1:14: 93
 1:16: 93 n. 41

CAESAR

Civil Wars

3.18: 60, 64

CASSIUS DIO

22.75: 248
 27.93: 271 n. 35
 36.54.1-5: 181
 37.4-5.1: 181
 42.2.5-6: 227 n. 82
 43.45.4: 183 n. 27
 43.51.1-2: 227
 44.45.3-4: 227 n. 82
 47.30.3: 227
 48.24.4 ff.: 227
 51.8.3: 35 n. 39
 54.9.8-10: 71

CICERO

Academicae quaestiones

2.2.5: 298 n. 13

Ad Atticum

1.23 SB = 1.1.23: 349
 2.4 SB = 1.2.4: 349
 2.7 SB = 1.2.7: 349
 6.4 SB = 1.10.4: 22 n. 7
 9.3 SB = 1.4.3: 22 n. 7
 12.4 SB = 1.12.4: 42 n. 58,
 84 n. 18
 16.15 SB = 1.16.15: 28 n. 19
 21.2 SB = 2.1.2: 5, 8 n. 11, 85 n. 19,
 88 n. 29
 24.1 SB = 2.4.1: 84 n. 19
 25 SB = 2.5: 55, 63

- 25.1 SB = 2.5.1: 4, 349
 25.2 SB = 2.5.2: 4 n. 4, 24 n. 10
 26.1 SB = 2.6.1: 40
 26.2 SB = 2.6.2: 4, 24 n. 10
 28.1 SB = 2.8.1: 4 n. 4, 24 n. 10
 30 SB = 2.12: 63
 33.2 SB = 2.13.2: 4 n. 4, 24 n. 10
 36.3 SB = 2.16.3: 4 n. 4, 24 n. 10
 37.2 SB = 2.17.2: 349
 37.3 SB = 2.17.3: 62, 62 n. 101, 64,
 64 n. 103
 39.3 SB = 2.19.3: 217 n. 72
 40.1 SB = 2.20.1: 349
 44.2-3 SB = 2. 24. 2-3: 184 n. 28
 57.2 SB = 3.12.2: 85 n. 21
 80.1-3 SB = 4. 5.1-3: 85 n. 21
 78.1 SB = 4.4a.1: 40
 79.2 SB = 4.8.2: 40
 82.1 SB = 4.8a.1: 41 n. 54
 84.1 SB = 4.10.1: 4 n. 4, 24 n. 10
 86.2 SB = 4.11.2: 41 n. 54
 87.2 SB = 4.13.2: 85 n. 19
 88.1 SB = 4.14.1: 84 n. 19
 88.2 SB = 4.14.2: 41 n. 54
 90.1 SB = 4.15.1: 41
 90.6 SB = 4.15.6: 217 n. 72
 90.10 SB = 4.15.10: 41 n. 54
 91.1 SB = 4.17.1: 85 n. 21
 92.2 SB = 4.18.2: 4 n. 4, 24 n. 10
 92.5 SB = 4.18.2: 41 n. 54
 93.2 SB = 4.19.2: 41
 96.3 SB = 5.3.3: 41 n. 55
 97.4 SB = 5.4.4: 22 n. 7
 102.3 SB = 5.9.3: 41 n. 55
 103.5 SB = 5.10.5: 49
 104 SB = 5.11: 64 n. 103,
 66 n. 111
 104.3 SB = 5.11.3: 60 n. 97
 114.7 SB = 5.21.7: 349
 115.12 SB = 6.1.12: 41
 115.26 SB = 6.1.26: 8 n. 11
 116.3 SB = 6.2.3: 41
 121.2 SB = 6.6.2: 8 n. 11
 126.10 SB = 7.3.10: 42 n. 59, 33 n.
 31, 34 n. 32, 35
 127.1 SB = 7.4.1: 41
 130.1 SB = 7.7.1: 41, 41 n. 57
 130.6 SB = 7.7.6: 65
 131.1 SB = 7.8.1: 41 n. 57
 142.3 SB = 7.18.3: 41 n. 57, 42
 150.3 SB = 7.26.3: 41 n. 57
 156. 1-2 SB = 8.4.1-2: 41 n. 57
 157.1 SB = 8.5.1: 41 n. 57
 159 SB = 8.10: 41 n. 57
 162.5 SB = 8.12.5: 56 n. 85, 62 n.
 101, 63
 167.3 SB = 9.1.3: 62 n. 101, 63
 178. 3-4 SB = 9.11.3-4: 66 n. 111
 177.2 SB = 9.10.2: 24 n. 10
 177.5 SB = 9.10.5: 61
 178.4 SB = 9.11.4: 60
 179.2 SB = 9.12.2: 41, 41 n. 57
 183.5 SB = 9.15.5: 41 n. 57
 192.2 SB = 10.2.2: 41 n. 57
 206.2 SB = 10.14.2: 24 n. 10
 208.1 SB = 10.16.1: 41 n. 57, 42
 239.1 SB = 12.3.1: 84 n. 19
 243.1 SB = 12.6a.1: 85 n. 19
 265.2 SB = 12.26.2: 36
 293.1 SB = 12.51.1: 34 n. 35
 295.1 SB = 12.53.1: 34 n. 35
 299. 3-4 SB = 13.28.3-4:
 34 n. 35
 304 SB = 13.2b: 42
 305.2 SB = 13.32.2: 84 n. 19
 306.2 SB = 12.6.2: 40 n. 52
 317.2 SB = 13.9.2: 34 n. 35
 318.1 SB = 13.10.1: 4 n. 4,
 24 n. 10
 330.1 SB = 13.33a.1: 42
 333.3 SB = 13.25.3: 22 n. 7
 353.2 SB = 13.52.2: 35 n. 36

CICERO (*Cont.*):

363.3 SB = 14.9.3: 35 n. 36
 396.1 SB = 15.19.1: 65
 397.1 SB = 15.20.1: 35 n. 36
 420.4 SB = 16.11.4: 53 n. 78,
 117 n. 98
 425.2 SB = 16.14.4: 53 n. 78
Ad Familiares
 3 SB = 5. 7: 194 n. 43
 65 SB = 3. 2: 194 n. 43
 71.5 SB = 3. 7.5: 53 n. 78
 7.23.4: 34 n. 34
 110 SB = 15. 4: 194 n. 43
 209.4 SB = 7.23.4: 34 n. 34,
 34 n. 35
 217. 1-2 SB = 9. 10. 1-2: 34 n. 34,
 34 n. 35, 35
 253.3 SB = 4.12.3: 330 n. 49
Ad Quintum
 8.2 SB = 2.4.2: 40, 40 n. 51
 25.1 SB = 3.5.1: 84 n. 18
Brutus
 306: 29 n. 23
De Amicitia
 37: 49 n. 73
De Finibus
 3.66: 125 n. 3
De Imperio Cn. Pompei
 22: 294 n. 9
De Legibus
 1.5: 80 n. 3
 2.5: 347
De Natura Deorum
 1.59: 29 n. 23
De Officiis
 3.10: 102 n. 65
 3.25: 125 n. 3
De Oratore
 2.36: 80 n. 3
 2.88: 31 n. 26
 3.20: 31 n. 26

De Re Publica

2.28-9: 46 n. 67
 6.11.11: 298 n. 13
In Verrem
 5.27: 330 n. 50
Lucullus
 2.1.2: 81 n. 7
Orator
 11.141ff.: 24 n. 10
Pro Balbo
 57: 65
Pro Fonteio
 43: 81 n. 7
Pro Milone
 16: 217
Pro Plancio
 34.94: 350
Tusculanae Disputationes
 1.24: 31 n. 26
 2.9: 29 n. 23
 5.14: 323 n. 38
 5.107: 96 n. 48

DIODORUS

1.2.2: 80
 1.2.4: 124 n. 2
 1.2.5-6: 7
 1.3.1: 124 n. 2
 1.3.5-6: 133, 145, 152
 1.4.1: 81
 1.4.2-3: 26, 88
 1.4.2-4: 101
 1.4.4: 88, 95 n. 44
 1.83: 88
 1.84: 154
 2.17: 154 n. 26
 2.23: 298 n. 11
 2.5.7: 154 n. 26
 3.38: 154 n. 26
 3.38.2: 89 n. 31
 4.18: 155

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 4.21: 154 | 32.4.5: 242, 86 n. 23 |
| 4.21.1: 171 | 32.5: 242 |
| 4.21.4: 208 | 32.6: 248 |
| 4.30: 155 n. 29 | 32.9c: 296 n. 10 |
| 4.56.6: 154 | 33.1.1: 334 |
| 4.56.8: 154 n. 26 | 33.1.2: 334 |
| 4.83.4-7: 178 | 33.1.3: 334 |
| 5.10: 155 | 33.1.4: 249 |
| 5.13.3: 154 n. 27 | 33.2: 336 |
| 5.15.5: 155 n. 29 | 33.3: 296 n. 10 |
| 5.17.1: 154 n. 27 | 33.4: 305 |
| 5.21.2: 89 n. 31 | 33.6-6a: 293 |
| 5.22.1: 89 n. 31 | 33.7: 302, 335 |
| 5.32.1: 154 n. 27 | 33.9: 305 |
| 5.32.5: 155 n. 29, 288 n. 3 | 33.12: 294 |
| 5.34.7: 155 n. 29, 336 | 33.13: 294 |
| 5.35.4: 155 | 33.14-15: 340 |
| 5.38.5: 155 | 33.16: 248, 251 |
| 5.39.7: 154 n. 26, 154 n. 27, 341 | 33.17: 251 n. 12, 311 n. 23 |
| 5.40.1-2: 200 | 33.18: 311, 312 |
| 7.5.1: 171 | 33.19: 248 |
| 7.5.12: 171 | 33.21: 120 n. 103 |
| 7.5.8: 179, 179 n. 22 | 33.21-21a: 335 |
| 7.5-7: 154 | 33.21a: 336 |
| 7.8f: 153 n. 25 | 33.22: 295 |
| 8.14: 45, 46 n. 66 | 33.22-3: 295 |
| 8.2-6: 154, 171 | 33.23: 295 |
| 8.5: 172 n. 8, 185 | 33.24: 238 |
| 10.1: 184 | 33.26.2: 238 |
| 10.22: 185 | 33.27: 297 |
| 13.35.3: 101 n. 60 | 33.28a: 257 n. 17, 264 |
| 13.71: 357 n. 14 | 33.28b: 120 |
| 16.70.6: 101 n. 60 | 33.28b. 2: 295, 302 |
| 20.1: 121, 285 | 34/5.1: 307, 309 |
| 20.43.7: 153 | 34/5.2: 110 |
| 31.19: 327 | 34/5.2.13: 337 |
| 31.19.8: 327, 9, 54 n. 80 | 34/5.2.15: 222 |
| 31.24: 204 | 34/5.2.21: 120 n. 103 |
| 31.36: 8 n. 10 | 34/5.2.24: 222 |
| 32.4.1-3: 242 | 34/5.2.27: 155 n. 28 |
| 32.4.4: 242 | 34/5.2.3: 212 n. 65, 217 |

- DIODORUS (*Cont.*):
 34/5.2.31: 212 n. 65
 34/5.2.39-40: 337
 34/5.2.40: 337
 34/5.2.42: 222
 34/5.2.48: 337
 34/5.3: 303
 34/5.4.1-2: 339
 34/5.5: 210
 34/5.6: 26, 210
 34/5.6.1: 210
 34/5.6.2: 211
 34/5.7.2: 211
 34/5.7.3: 210
 34/5.8: 222
 34/5.9: 118 n. 100
 34/5.12: 340
 34/5.13: 303
 34/5.14: 294
 34/5.20: 298 n. 12
 34/5.23: 120 n. 103, 238
 34/5.24: 211
 34/5.25: 274, 279, 290, 338
 34/5.25.1: 211, 225
 34/5.25.2: 211
 34/5.26.1: 212
 34/5.28a: 212
 34/5.29: 213
 34/5.30a: 241 n. 5, 335 n. 58
 34/5.30b: 241
 34/5.31: 259 n. 24
 34/5.32: 259 n. 24
 34/5.33: 192
 34/5. 33. 3-6: 204
 34/5.33.4: 241
 34/5.33.4-6: 215
 34/5.33.5: 241
 34/5.33.5-6: 290
 34/5.35: 9, 54 n. 80
 34/5.35a: 259
 34/5.36: 101, 256
 34/5.37: 240
 34/5.38: 201, 260
 34/5.38.1: 280
 34/5.39: 120 n. 103, 251 n. 12
 36.1: 251 n. 12
 36.1: 110, 251 n. 12
 36.2.6: 120 n. 103
 36.2-2a: 110
 36.3.1: 246, 276
 36.3.2: 271
 36.3.5: 271
 36.3.5-6: 120 n. 103
 36.4.1: 272
 36.4.4: 338
 36.4.5: 338
 36.4.7-8: 338
 36.4.8: 272
 36.5.2-3: 339, 223
 36.6: 272
 36.7: 223
 36.8.1: 278
 36.8.5: 272
 36.8.5-9. 2: 203
 36.9.2: 205 n. 56, 272
 36.10.3: 339
 36.11: 272
 36.11.2: 272, 275
 36.12: 203
 36.13: 200
 36.13.3: 197
 36.14: 192
 36.15: 200
 36.15.1: 257, 332
 36.15.2: 198
 37.1: 216 n. 71
 37.1.1-2: 216
 37.2.1: 204, 242
 37.2.11: 220 n. 74, 331
 37.2.4: 224 n. 81
 37.2.5: 224 n. 81
 37.2.7: 224 n. 81

- 37.2.9: 224 n. 81
 37.3: 204
 37.3.1: 242
 37.3.5: 205, 208
 37.3.6: 204
 37.4: 118
 37.5: 205
 37.5.1: 279
 37.5.2-3: 280
 37.5-8: 274
 37.6: 202
 37.8.1-3: 273, 274
 37.8.2: 297
 37.9: 212 n. 65
 37.10.1: 217
 37.10.2: 217
 37.10.3: 217
 37.12: 217
 37.13: 218
 37.15: 215
 37.16: 220 n. 74
 37.17: 201 n. 53
 37.18: 120 n. 103, 220 n. 74
 37.19.4: 251
 37.22: 219
 37.22b: 120 n. 103
 37.23: 211 n. 64
 37.26: 324
 37.27: 55 n. 83, 323
 37.28: 331
 37.29: 206, 226
 37.29.5: 207
 37.30: 207
 38/9.6: 250, 332
 38/9.7.1: 214
 38/9.8: 246
 38/9.8.1: 246
 38/9.8.2: 247
 38/9.8.3: 185, 247
 38/9.8.4: 247
 38/9.9: 201
 38/9.10: 202
 38/9.11: 290
 38/9.13: 226
 38/9.18: 118 n. 100
 38/9.20: 275
 38/9.21.1: 337
 40.2: 260 n. 25, 268
 40.8: 85 n. 21
- DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
Roman Antiquities
 1.3: 171
 1.5-7: 171
 1.7: 171
 1.51.2: 175 n. 17
 1.70: 179
 1.82.3-84. 2: 74, 170
 1.84.1-2: 172
 2.32.1-34. 1: 74, 170
 2.59.2: 46 n. 67
 5.2: 8-12, 183 n. 26
 7.66: 86 n. 23
Epistles
 3.20: 30 n. 25
- EUSEBIUS
Ecclesiastical History
 6.25: 87
- GELLIUS
 15.11.1: 14 n. 27, 95 n. 47
 15.11.2: 15 n. 31
 2.24.2-6: 15 n. 32
 6.14.9: 15 n. 33
- HERODOTUS
 7.138-239: 240
- HOMER
Odysseus
 17.487: 299

ISIDORUS

Etymologies

6.5.1: 38 n. 45

17.7.1: 76 n. 125

JOSEPHUS

Jewish Antiquities

6.120, 122: 356 n. 13

8.294: 356 n. 13

9.40, 82 and 84: 356 n. 13

12.267: 356 n. 13

12.417: 268

13.184-6: 314 n. 26

16.183-6: 157 n. 30

19.93: 356 n. 13

Autobiography

26: 357 n. 15

JUVENAL

1.130: 64 n. 104

LIVY

preface: 203 n. 55

1.18.1-3: 46 n. 67

2.3-5: 183 n. 26

9.18.6: 311, 142 n. 18

22.9.7-11: 178 n. 21

22.10.10: 78 n. 21

23.30.13-14: 178 n. 21

23.31.9: 178 n. 21

25.1.6-12: 11 n. 17

31.3: 253 n. 14

37.26.5-11: 253 n. 14

39.8-19: 11 n. 17

40.29.2-14: 15 n. 30

Oxyrynchus epitome

IV, 668: 298 n. 13

Periochae

48: 11 n. 18

78: 323 n. 37, 323 n. 39

MACROBIUS

Saturnalia

3.13.3: 15 n. 32

3.16.14-15: 15 n. 32

3.17.4-5: 15 n. 32

MEMNON

1: 244

1.4: 131 n. 9

2.5: 131 n. 9

18.1: 142 n. 16, 169

18.2: 142

18.6-9: 253 n. 14

18.6: 143, 190, 253

18.7: 253

18.8: 139, 254

18.10: 253, 254

19: 143

19.1: 140, 190

19.3: 140

20: 143

21: 140, 220, 253 n. 14

22.1: 143, 321

22.2: 320

22.4: 328

22.5: 190, 142, 143

22.6: 245, 288

22.9: 324, 329

22.10: 329

22.11: 190, 329

22.13: 244

23: 141, 321

24.1: 190

24.3: 190, 246

24.4: 244, 328

24.5: 245, 329

25: 245, 332

25.2: 250

26.1: 190, 245, 249, 327

26.2: 139, 277

- 26.3: 139
 27.1: 190
 27.5: 139
 27.6: 140, 280, 290
 27.7: 142 n. 16
 28.3: 332 n. 52
 28.7: 141
 28.9-11: 141, 146
 29.3-4: 139, 325
 29.5: 143, 193, 194
 29.9: 328
 30.2: 328
 30.4: 244
 31.2: 251 n. 12
 31.3: 146, 193
 32: 143
 32.2: 140
 33: 144
 34.2: 244
 34.3: 140
 34.5: 140
 34.9: 244
 35.1-6: 244
 35.6: 356
 35.7-8: 244
 36: 244
 36.1: 357 n. 15
 37.2: 142 n. 16, 357 n. 14
 37.5: 194
 37.8: 244
 38.3: 244
 38.5: 244
 38.8: 277
 39: 244
 39.1: 192, 194
 39.4: 271 n. 34
 40: 245
 40.2: 357 n. 15
 40.3: 194
 40.5: 355
- NEPOS
 12: 56 n. 87
 18.3: 184 n. 28
- NICOLAUS
 T1: 76, 190, 199
 T2: 69, 71, 72, 74
 T3: 73
 T4: 71, 72 n. 118 and n. 120, 275
 T5: 72 n. 119, 73, 75
 T6: 72 n. 118, 124, 171
 T7: 72 n. 118, 73
 T8: 68, 94, 72 n. 119, 106 n. 77
 T9: 72, 75
 T10a: 76, 199, 208
 T10b: 76
 T11: 106
 T12: 73, 80, 157 n. 30
 T13: 72, 74, 76, 94
 T14: 67
- F14: 128, 158
 F19-20: 157
 F69: 74, 172
 F69-70: 128, 158
 F70: 74, 170
 F73: 119, 326
 F74: 318, 326
 F75: 119, 269, 326, 158, 190, 199
 F77a: 207, 170, 171
 F77b: 207, 170, 171
 F78: 190, 199, 208
 F79: 273
 F80: 106
 F81: 71, 72 n. 120
 F94: 326 n. 42
 F95: 322
 F96: 73, 80
 F97: 74
 F98: 68, 74, 269

- NICOLAUS (*Cont.*):
 F100: 71, 128
 F101-2: 73, 80
 F103b. 1: 199, 94
 F103c: 199, 128
 F108: 199
 F111: 199
 F125: 128
 F126: 74
 F127.4: 160
 F127.5: 160
 F127.8: 160
 F127.9: 160
 F127.12: 275
 F130.18: 79, 160
 F130.19: 158
 F130.19.9-11: 184
 F130.20: 160, 179, 221 n. 76
 F130.21: 160
 F130.24: 76 n. 126, 95 n. 47
 F130.26: 129
 F130.28: 160
 F131: 68, 94, 106
 F131-2: 106
 F132.1: 69
 F132.2: 71, 73
 F132.5: 96, 71, 72, 74
 F134: 71, 75, 158
 F135: 72, 80, 124, 156
 F136: 70 n. 117
 F136.1: 159, 270
 F136.3: 72 n. 118, 276
 F136.5: 276
 F136. 6-7: 75, 275
 F136.7: 160
 F136.8: 68 n. 114, 72 n. 119
 F136.9: 268, 269
 F136.10: 72, 75, 94
 F136. 10-11: 159
 F136.11: 269
 F137: 106 n. 76
 F137. 1-2: 292
 F138: 160
 F142: 71, 72 n. 120, 94
 F143: 73
- OVID
Fasti
 3.151-4: 46 n. 66
 4.872-6: 178 n. 21
Metamorphoses
 15.1-8: 46 n. 66
 15.60-72: 46 n. 66
 15.479-84: 46 n. 66
Letters from Pontus
 2.10.21: 65 n. 108
 3.3.41-4: 46 n. 66
- PLATO
Republic
 473D: 45
- PLINY
Natural History
 3.57: 142 n. 18
 3.138: 86 n. 23
 7.112: 14 n. 29
 7.128: 37 n. 44
 10.139: 15 n. 32
 13.45: 76 n. 125
 13.84-8: 15 n. 30
 33.48: 323 n. 38
- PLUTARCH
Aemilius Paulus
 28.6: 7 n. 7, 38 n. 45
Antony
 24.1-4: 190 n. 36
 58.9: 38 n. 45
Cato Major
 22: 14 n. 29
 22.4: 15 n. 33

Cato Minor

4.1: 48

Cicero

32: 56 n. 87

38.4: 57, 66

Demosthenes

3: 30 n. 25

Gracchus, Gaius

13.3ff. : 213

Gracchus, Tiberius

8.5ff. : 49 n. 73

Lucullus

19: 40 n. 50, 29 n. 23

22: 31

Marcellus

20.1: 239

Marius

17.5-6: 197 n. 50

31.3: 142

33: 215

45.3-7: 207

Numa

1.3-4: 46 n. 66

8.2-8: 46 n. 66

11.1-2: 46 n. 66

22.3-4: 46 n. 66

Pompey

4.1: 38 n. 45

8: 193

26: 272 n. 36

35: 181

37: 64 n. 107

40: 58 n. 91

42: 57, 57 n. 88,
74 n. 122

42.4: 157 n. 32

42.5: 58 n. 90

49.6-7: 61 n. 99

76.4-6: 227 n. 82

76.5-6: 62, 66

76.6: 62 n. 100

Sertorius

22.3-4: 221 n. 77

Sulla

26.1-3: 38 n. 45

33: 269

36: 269

Moralia

777A: 46 n. 65

788C: 210 n. 61

POLYBIUS

1.4: 147 n. 23

1.5: 353

2.2ff.: 175

3.4.3: 1

3.51.3: 356 n. 12

5.104: 287 n. 2

6: 85

6.5-6: 335

6.13.7: 264

6.13.9: 189

6.26.6: 277 n. 38

6.53.7: 193

9.22.1: 142

10.2.1: 142

10.16.6: 356 n. 13

10.21.3-4: 142

10.40: 86 n. 23

11.29.8-13: 210 n. 61

12: 147 n. 23

18.27: 176 n. 19

18.34: 176 n. 19

18.38: 176 n. 19

18.39: 176 n. 19

18.45: 176 n. 19

24.10.11: 86 n. 23

25.1.1: 162

30.25.18: 330 n. 50

31.11-15: 136

31.23.4: 7 n. 7

31.23.6-25.1: 24

POLYBIUS (*Cont.*):

31.29: 260, 310 n. 21

31.31: 58 n. 89

34: 85

36.2: 242

POSIDONIUS

T5 E-K: 81 n. 8

T1a E-K = T1 Jac.: 105 n. 72, 161,
353 n. 5

T1a-1b E-K = T1 Jac.: 161 n. 34

T1b E-K = T12b Jac.: 106 n. 74

T2a E-K = T2 Jac.: 96 n. 48

T2b E-K: 96 n. 48

T3 E-K: 96 n. 48

T9 E-K: 96 n. 48

T10 E-K: 96 n. 48

T13 E-K: 102 n. 65

T14 E-K: 81 n. 8

T14 E-K to T26 E-K: 96 n. 48

T15 E-K = T5a Jac.: 81 n. 8

T16-21 E-K: 81 n. 8

T22 E-K = T5b Jac.: 81 n. 8

T23-24 E-K: 81 n. 8

T25 E-K = T17b Jac.: 161 n. 34

T27 E-K = T6 Jac.: 96 n. 48

T27-8 E-K = T6-7 Jac.: 81 n. 8

T28 E-K = T7: 102 n. 64

T29-33 E-K: 102 n. 61

T34 E-K = T9 Jac.: 5, 88 n. 29,
102 n. 61T35-6 E-K = T8a-8b Jac.: 102
n. 62

T37 E-K: 102 n. 62

T38-9 E-K = T8b Jac.: 102 n. 62

T39 E-K = F43 E-K = T8b

Jac.: 58 n. 90

T47 E-K = T17a Jac.: 161 n. 34

T75 E-K: 161 n. 34

T77 E-K = T14 Jac.: 161 n. 34

T78 E-K = T16 Jac.: 161 n. 34, 162

T80 E-K = T12a Jac.: 162, 197 n. 49

F49.B.4 E-K = F28 Jac.: 161 n. 34,
162, 162 n. 35

F51 E-K = F38 Jac.: 322, 354

F53 E-K = F1 Jac.: 164 n. 43, 197
n. 49

F56 E-K = F4 Jac.: 163, 295

F58 E-K = F7 Jac.: 163, 165, 297,
300

F59 E-K = F7 Jac.: 163, 338

F60 E-K = F8 Jac.: 197 n. 49

F61 a/b E-K = F9 a/b Jac.: 108 n. 80,
163

F61a E-K = F9a Jac.: 309

F61b E-K = F9b Jac.: 309 n. 20

F63 E-K = F11 Jac.: 163, 308

F64 E-K = F12 Jac.: 309 n. 19,
314 n. 27

F65 E-K = F13 Jac.: 163

F66 E-K = F14 Jac.: 164

F67 E-K = F15 and 18 Jac.: 197 n. 49

F120 E-K = F75 Jac.: 162 n. 34

F209 E-K = F77 Jac.: 161 n. 34

F217 E-K = F85 Jac.: 161 n. 34, 162

F225 E-K = F89 Jac.: 161 n. 34,
162 n. 36

F226 E-K = F29 Jac.: 163 n. 39

F231 E-K = F87 Jac.: 163 n. 39

F242 E-K = F68 Jac.: 163 n. 39

F246 E-K = F53 Jac.: 161 n. 34,
162 n. 36F253 E-K = F36 Jac.: 29, 165, 190,
220, 220 n. 74, 280, 288, 289, 308,
318, 322 n. 36, 323, 324, 325, 328,
330, 331F254 E-K = F30 Jac.: 46, 166 n.
44, 299F255 E-K = F37 Jac.: 102 n. 64,
103 n. 68, 166 n. 46, 207

F256 E-K = F40 Jac.: 164 n. 43, 183

- F257 E-K = F43 Jac.: 165, 239
 F258 E-K = F44 Jac.: 166 n. 44
 F259 E-K = F42a Jac.: 166 n. 44
 F260 E-K = F42b Jac.: 166 n. 44
 F261 E-K = F41 Jac.: 164 n. 43, 191
 F262 E-K = F35 Jac.: 338
 F264 E-K = F60 Jac.: 164 n. 43, 191
 F265 E-K: 120
 F265 E-K = F59 Jac.: 166 n. 44, 299
 F266 E-K = F59 Jac.: 164 n. 43,
 196, 197 n. 49
 F267 E-K = F59 Jac.: 197 n. 49, 199
 F268 E-K = F57a Jac.: 197 n. 49
 F269 E-K = F58a Jac.: 197 n. 49
 F271 E-K = F51 Jac.: 162, 162 n.
 34, 162 n. 35, 166 n. 45, 210 n. 60
 F272 E-K = F31 Jac.: 165, 197 n. 49
 F273 E-K = F33 Jac.: 165
 F274 E-K = F55 Jac.: 165, 197 n.
 49, 340
 F275 E-K: 197 n. 49
 F276 E-K = F56 Jac.: 197 n. 49
 F277b E-K: 197 n. 49
 F278 E-K = F69 Jac.: 163 n. 39
 F279 E-K: 163 n. 39
 F280 E-K = F105a Jac.: 163 n. 39
 F281a E-K = F105b Jac.: 163 n. 39
 F281b E-K: 163 n. 39
 F282 E-K = F71 Jac.: 309 n. 19
F108 Jac.: 103 n. 68
F110-11 Jac.: 103 n. 68
F111b Jac.: 103 n. 68
- SALLUST
Catilinarian Conspiracy
 3-4: 24 n. 10
 10-13: 203 n. 55
Jugurthine War
 3-4: 24 n. 10
 21-7: 259
 41-2: 203 n. 55
- 85.12: 81 n. 7
Histories
 3.8-9 M.: 252 n. 13
 SENECA THE ELDER
Controversies
 2.5: 24 n. 10
 10.5.22: 44 n. 62
 SENECA THE YOUNGER
On Anger
 3.23.4-6: 44 n. 62
Letters
 91.13: 44 n. 62
 STRABO
 4.1.5: 98, 40 n. 51
 10.2.25: 175 n. 17
 11.4.1-8: 181
 12.3.6: 356
 12.3.16: 40
 13.1.54: 38 n. 45
 13.2.3: 56, 58
 14.2.19: 35 n. 37
 14.5.4: 32
 14.5.14: 53
 14.5.15: 26
 SUETONIUS
Augustus
 8.3: 95 n. 47
Julius Caesar
 56.7: 65
Lives of the Grammarians
 3: 37 n. 44
 4: 20 n. 3
 14: 34
 15: 43
Lives of the Orators
 1.1: 15 n. 31
 1.2: 14 n. 27

TACITUS	35.1.8: 305
<i>Dialogue on Oratory</i>	35.2.2: 208
35: 15 n. 31	36.1.3: 313
<i>Annals</i>	36.1.9: 308
6.18.5: 58, 59, 66	36.1.1-10: 208
12.62: 252 n. 13	36.3.8-9: 267
	36.3.9: 260 n. 25
TIBULLUS	36.4.1-5: 255, 304
2.6: 65 n. 108	36.4.6-7: 330 n. 48
	36.4.6-37. 1.5: 332
TROGUS	36.4.8: 202
1.3.2: 298 n. 11	36.4.10-12: 272 n. 36
1.4: 173	36.4.12: 205, 278
2.3.5: 132, 132 n. 10	37: 332
2.6.6: 8	37.1.3: 303
2.10.11: 114, 115 n. 92	37.1.1: 236 n. 2
4.1: 113, 151	37.1.7-9: 316
4.1.12-13: 173 n. 10	37.2.1-3: 318
4.1.16: 115 n. 92	37.2.4-9: 318
6.6.9-10: 113	37.3.1: 319
7.1.5: 115 n. 92	37.3.2: 319
15.2.9: 115 n. 92	37.3.3: 319
22.5: 259	37.3.3-5: 319
25.5.5: 148	37.3.7-8: 320
28.1.5-6: 175	37.4.1-2: 320 n. 33
28.1.6: 182	37.4.5-6: 333
28.2: 173, 285, 286	37.4.9: 333
29.2: 287	38.1: 258
30.1-2: 302	38.1.1: 321
30.4.4: 283	38.2: 258
31.3.7-10: 278	38.3.1-2: 333
31.5.4: 278	38.3.3-4: 259
31.5.2-9: 278	38.3.5-7: 333
31.6.9: 278	38.3.7: 325
31.7.4-7: 198	38.3.8: 278, 330
31.8.1-4: 176, 177	38.3.8-9: 325
31.8.8: 240	38.3.11: 114, 121, 284
31.8.9: 205, 255, 278	38.4.4-8: 286
33: 113	38.4.9-16: 288
33.1.2: 278	38.4.11-14: 220
34: 113	38.5.1-6.2: 290

- 38.5.4: 256
 38.6: 285
 38.6.1: 287
 38.6.7: 185
 38.6.7-8: 173, 286
 38.7.1: 327
 38.7.1-5: 286
 38.7.8: 289
 38.7.10: 256, 325
 38.8.13: 295
 38.8.14-15: 295
 38.8.2: 292
 38.8.3: 294
 38.8.4: 294
 38.8.3-4: 292
 38.8.5: 294
 38.8.6: 294
 38.8.8: 299 n. 15
 38.9.10: 314
 38.8.9-10: 296
 38.8.11: 294
 38.10.2: 308
 38.9.3: 305
 39.1.3: 305, 314
 39.1.5: 305
 39.5.2-3: 255
 39.5.3: 232, 243
 39.5.4: 243, 310
 40: 148
 40.1: 331
 40.2: 283
 40.2.5: 314
 40.2.2-5: 232, 310
 40.2.3-5: 249
 41: 313
 41.1.1: 128, 314
 41.1.7: 206, 243, 128
 41.2.4: 297
 41.3.7-10: 315
 41.5.5: 174
 41.5.6: 199, 311
 41.5.8: 114, 174 n. 12, 311
 41.4.3: 132
 41-2: 85
 41-4: 148
 42: 313
 42.2.7-8: 146
 42.2.7-3. 9: 180
 42.3.4: 180
 42.3.7: 180
 42.4.6-7: 226
 42.4.7: 227
 42.5: 174 n. 14
 42.5.3: 227
 42.5.8: 228
 42.5.12: 228
 43: 115
 43.1.1: 101 n. 59, 150 n. 24
 43.1-43. 3: 149
 43.1.1-2: 97 n. 51
 43.1.10-13: 178
 43.1.2: 149
 43.1.2: 115 n. 92
 43.1.5: 115 n. 92
 43.1.7: 115 n. 92
 43.2: 172
 43.2.3: 173
 43.2.7: 173
 43.3.1-2: 172
 43.3.4: 235
 43.4.1-2: 98
 43.5.3: 235, 239
 43.5.8-10: 235
 43.5.11-12: 69, 89
 43.5.12: 354
 44.2.7: 335
 44.2.8: 335, 336
 44.3.3: 115 n. 92
 44.4.8: 272
 44.4.12: 173
 44.4.16: 173 n. 10
 44.5.8: 98, 174 n. 14, 243

TROGUS (*Cont.*):

34.1-2: 86 n. 23

34.2: 137 n. 15

34.2.7: 296

34.2.8: 292

34.3.2-4: 198

34.3.8: 293

Praef.

1-3: 147

3: 124

4: 112

Prol.

28: 113

32: 113

39: 113

40: 113

43: 150, 185

43.3.4: 185

VALERIUS MAXIMUS

3.7.11: 11 n. 16

2.4.2: 11 n. 18

1.1.12: 15 n. 30

5.8: 198 n. 51

5.8.1: 183 n. 26

9.13.1: 323 n. 39

VELLIUS PATERCULUS

1.15.3: 11 n. 18

2.18.3: 323 n. 39

VERGIL

Aeneid

5.759-60: 178 n. 21

6.851-3: 237 n. 3

General Index

- 1 Maccabees, author of 2, 86–7,
99–100, 133–138, 346, 351–352
Acarnianians 175–176, 182, 285–286
Aemilius Lepidus Porcina, M 297
Aetolians 175–176, 285–286,
333 n. 53
Agrippa 269–270
Albani 180–182
Alexander Balas 208, 296 n. 10, 305
Alexander Epiphanes 306
Alexander Polyhistor 39
Alexander the Great 142, 174,
318, 319
Amazons 181–182
Amisus 29 n. 24
Antiochus III 137, 139, 198,
253–254, 278
Antiochus IV Epiphanes 135, 198,
293, 307
Antiochus VI 257
Antiochus VII Sidetes 307–309
Antiochus IX Philopater Cyzicenus
310
Antiochus XIII 232–234, 283
Antiochus of Ascalon 48
Antipater of Tarsus 33
Antipater of Tyre 48
Antonius, M 35, 70–1, 148, 300
Apellicon of Teos 52, 308
Appuleius Saturninus, L. 197–198,
203, 257, 331
Aquillius, M'. 323, 330
Areius Didymus 49
Aristobulus 268
Aristodemus of Nysa 28
Ariston of Alexandria 49
Aristonicus 33, 205, 255, 272 n. 36
Aristus of Ascalon 49
Armenians 180
Asclepiades of Bithynia 36–7
Asinius Pollio 44, 95
Athenaeus of Seleucia 32
Athenaeus 107
Athenion, tyrant of Athens 29, 52,
280–281, 288–289, 318, 322–324,
330–331
Athens 8, 29, 58, 280–281, 288–289,
325, 329–330
Attalus I 303
Attalus III 255, 303–304, 340
Augustus 28, 75–6, 157–169,
227–228, 233, 268–270, 272,
284, 303
Aurelius Cotta, C 190, 192, 244

Balbus 56, 65
Blossius of Cumae 32–33, 49–50
Bruti, *gens* 183–185, 226–227

Caecilius Dionysius, M. 40–42
Caecilius of Caleacte 30
Cappadocia 258–259, 290
Carneades 14
Carthage 3, 241, 287–288
Celts and Gauls 101, 165, 340–341
Chios, Chians 250, 321–322
Cimbri 276–277, 288
Citizenship 100–101
Claudius Marcellus, M. 239, 281
Cleopatra II 292, 294

- Cleopatra III 292
 Cleopatra VII 71, 179, 303
 Constantine Porphyrogenitus 108
 Contobris 237
 Contoniatius 256
 Corinth 3
 Cornelius Dolabella, P. 35
 Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, P. 293,
 298–301
 Cornelius Scipio Nasica, P. 11,
 204, 214
 Cornelius Sulla Felix, L. 119, 214,
 226, 245, 249–250, 269, 288, 316,
 327, 329, 332
 Cos 35–6
 Crates of Mallos 13
 Crete, Cretans 252, 272 n. 36
 Crinagoras of Mytilene 36 n. 41
 Cyrene, Cyrenaeans 255, 292
 Cyrus 319, 327

 Delos 281, 308
 Demetrius I 136, 265, 267
 Demetrius II Nicator 208, 305, 313
 Diadochi 6–7, 50, 234
 Diegylis 340
 Dio of Alexandria 51
 Diodorus 2, 88–9, 101, 116–118,
 120–21, 152–156, 347–348, 354
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus 16, 30,
 91, 170–171
 Diophanes 49

 Enna 222
 Etruscans 199–200
 Eumenes 58n89
 Eupolemus 10

 Flavius Fimbria, C. 185, 190,
 245–247, 328–329

 Gadara 58n91
 Galatians 288
 Gaul, Gauls 2, 238, 286, 288

 Hannibal 278, 286–287
 Heraclea Pontica 244, 250, 253–254,
 277, 290, 321–322, 325,
 355–356
 Hercules 97, 124–125, 151, 154,
 155, 180
 Herod 2, 71–6, 157, 268–270, 275–276
 Hyrcanus 268

 Iberia, Iberian Wars 237–238,
 248–249

 Josephus 80, 87
 Juba II 54
 Judaea 9–10, 256–257, 260–270,
 307–308
 Jugurtha 251 n. 12, 259–260
 Julia 269–270
 Julius Caesar, C. 60, 155, 176
 Justin 110–116

 Lampsacus 175, 182
 Lesbos, Lesbians 323–324
 Libraries 7n7, 8 n. 9, 10 n. 13, 28 n.
 18, 38, 65
 Licinius Archias, A. 26–28, 29
 Licinius Crassus, M. 273
 Licinius Lucullus, L. 48, 81, 207–
 208, 232, 244, 251 n. 12, 277, 316
 Licinius Murena, L. 249, 327
 Licinius Nerva 271–272
 Livius Andronicus 10n15
 Livius Drusus, M. 217
 Livy 145
 Luceius, L. 60
 Lucretius 35

- Maccabee, Jonathan 262, 306
 Maccabee, Simon 257 n. 18, 262, 306
 Macedonian War, Third 278
 Marius minor, C. 226
 Marius, C. 102, 142 n. 17, 191, 201, 206–207, 215, 245, 251 n. 12, 259–260, 276, 288
 Massilia 98, 235–236
 Memmius, C. 34–5, 63
 Memnon 2, 90, 109–110, 138–145, 355–357
 Metrodorus of Scepsis 31, 32
 Mithridates Eupator 36, 119, 257–259, 286–288, esp. 316–333
 Mithridatic Wars 28 n. 19, 29, 139–141, 143–144, 244–247, 249–250, 251 n. 12, 277
 Mytilene 55 n. 83, 57

 Nicias of Cos 33–6
 Nicolaus 2, 7, 33, 67–76, 94–6, 106, 119, 156–61, 291–292, 348, 355
 Nicomedes, king of Bithynia 258–259, 276, 330, 332
 Numa 15, 45, 46
 Numantia 251, 339
 Numidia 259–260

 Oppius, Q. 323
 Parthenius of Nicaea 39
 Parthia, Parthians 174, 199, 206, 226–228, 273, 277, 305, 308–309 esp. 310–316, 331
 Pergamum 7, 13, 33
 Philip V of Macedon 283, 287
 Philo of Larissa 29
 Photius 109–110
 Plutarch 46, 58
 Polybius 1, 3, 84
 Pompeius Lenaeus, Cn. 43–4
 Pompeius Macer, M. 65
 Pompeius Magnus, Cn. 11, 28, 34, 43, 55–8, 60–2, 102, 110, 180–182, 201–02, 226–227, 232–233, 267–269, 272 n. 36, 275, 283, 316
 Porcius Cato Maior, M. 12, 14
 Porcius Cato Minor, M. 48
 Posidonius 2, 5, 29, 51, 70, 87–8, 96, 101–103, 105–106, 116–118, 161–166, 207, 345–346, 352–354, *praefectus fabrum* 56
 Prusias of Bithynia 140
 Ptolemy IV Philopator 302
 Ptolemy V Epiphanes 302
 Ptolemy VI Philometor 292–293, 306
 Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator 292, 294
 Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Physcon 292–302, 305
 Ptolemy IX Philometor Soter II 298 n. 12
 Ptolemy X Alexander 297
 Ptolemy XII Auletes 51, 56, 61, 63
 Pyrrhus 142, 148, 286
 Pythagoras 45, 46
 Pythia 303

 Rhodes 8, 57–58 esp. n. 89, 281, 329, 331
 Rome, as intellectual center 26–30
 Romulus and Remus 169–174, 185, 285–286
 Rutilius Rufus, P. 64, 102

 Scaevola, Q. Mucius 202, 205, 274, 279–280
 Scipionic circle 12–13, 42–3
 Scordisci 241, 335 n. 58
 Scythia, Scythians 132, 319

- Sempronius Asellio (historian) 3n1
 Sempronius Asellio, L. (governor of Sicily) 273–274
 Sempronius Gracchus, C. 211–215, 279
 Sempronius Gracchus, Ti 32–33, 210–211
 Senate, power of 189–190
 Sextius Calvinus, C. (cos. 124) 238
 slave revolts 221–224, 271–272, 276, 278, 337–339
 Social War 142, 215–221, 224–225, 241, 242, 251, 288, 331
 Sparta, Spartans 131, 136, 261–263
 Strabo 56, 91
Suda 105–107
 Syria 2, 232–234, 283, 304–310, 331

 Tarquinius, *gens* 183–185, 235–236
 Tarsus, tyrants of 53
 tax collectors, Roman 137, 140, 274, 276, 279–280, 289–290
 Terence 42–3
 Theatre of Pompey 11, 57 n. 88
 Theophanes of Mytilene 31, 32, 54–67
 Theopompus 90
 Tigranes 31, 232–233, 251 n. 12, 277, 331, 333
 Timagenes of Alexandria 30, 32, 44, 61, 63
 Triumvirate, the so-called First 56
 Trogus 2, 69, 89–90, 97–99, 110–116, 117, 145–152, 346–347, 354
 Troy, Rome's connection with 175–180, 269–270
 Tryphon 257, 264, 300, 305–306
 Tullius Cicero, M 4–5, 21, 29, 40–42, 62, 280, 349–350
 Tyrannion 39–40
 Utica 290
 Valerius Flaccus, L. 245–247
 Velleius Paterculus 3 n. 1
 Viriathus 302, 334–336
 Xenarchus of Seleucia 28